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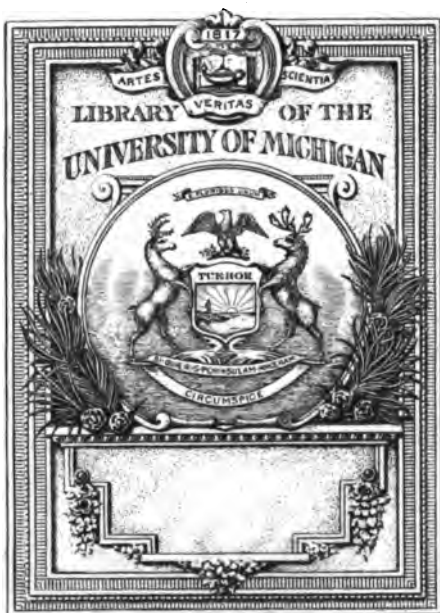
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## A CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT

OF

## The History

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE FIRST INVASION OF THE ROMANS  
TO THE YEAR 1763.

WITH

GENEALOGICAL AND POLITICAL TABLES.

DEDICATED WITH PERMISSION TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE REGENT.

BY

ANT. FR. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

LATE MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE IN FRANCE UNDER THE  
REIGN OF LOUIS XVI.

Non criticorum mōre, in laude et censura tempus teratur,  
sed planè historicè res ipsæ narrentur, judicium parcius inter-  
ponatur.  
BACO. DE AUGM. Lib. II. c. 4.

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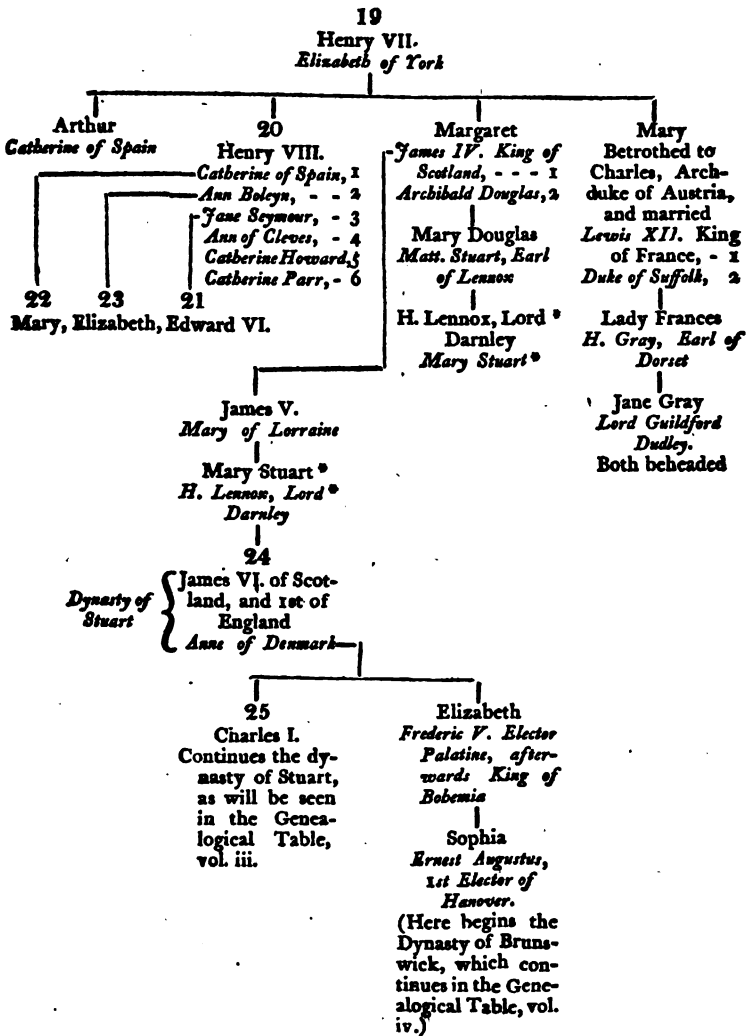
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# DYNASTY OF TUDOR.



A  
CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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*PERIOD THE SEVENTH.*

**HENRY VII.** nineteenth King from the Conquest,  
and the first of the House of Tudor.

[Born in 1458; ascended the throne August 22, 1485; was crowned October 30, following; married Elizabeth, Edward the fourth's daughter, and heiress of the House of York, January 18, 1486; lost his queen in child-bed, February 11, 1503; died consumptive at Richmond, April 22, 1509, aged 51; was buried at Westminster, and succeeded by his son.]

*Ann. 1485,*

THE victory of Bosworth and the huzzas of the army placed on the head of Henry VII. a crown, to which he had no sort of claim by hereditary right. His mother Margaret, countess of Rich-

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mond, was indeed the only daughter and heir of the duke of Somerset, sprung from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; but the title of the house of Lancaster itself originating from usurpation, could not be very favourable; besides, the descent of the Somerset line was not only illegitimate, it was also the produce of an adulterous connexion with Catherine Swineford; and though the duke of Lancaster had obtained from Richard II. the legitimization of his natural children, by a patent confirmed by parliament, that patent itself, in which were fully enumerated all the privileges conferred by it, had expressly excepted the succession to the throne; and in all settlements of the crown during the reign of the Lancastrian princes, the line of Somerset had been entirely overlooked. But even in putting aside all these objections, Henry's mother, from whom alone he could derive any right, was still alive, and evidently preceded him in the order of succession.

The title of the house of York from the late popular government of Edward IV. had generally obtained the preference in the affections of the people, and Henry might engraft his claims on the acknowledged rights of that family, by marrying Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. and his apparent heir, by the real or supposed death of the two princes, her brothers. Henry had solemnly promised to celebrate that marriage, and was chiefly indebted for all his past successes to the expectation of it. But he considered that on receiving the crown in right of his queen only, his authority would be as limited as precarious, and that should the princess die before him without issue, he must descend from the throne, and give the place to the next in succession. Therefore, taking advantage of his present power, he resolved to take possession of the sovereignty on his own claim, as heir of the house of Lancaster, which he would never allow to

be discussed; and to postpone his intended marriage till he was firmly seated on the throne, and had his pretended right to the crown acknowledged by parliament, and solemnly confirmed by his coronation.

Two days after the battle of Bosworth, Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. was conveyed to the tower by Henry's order, to be detained there in close custody. The same messenger who was sent to take him at Sherif-hutton in Yorkshire, where he was in a kind of confinement, carried directions that the princess Elizabeth, who, under the preceding reign, had been also confined to the same place, should be conducted to London.

Henry having refreshed his troops a few days at Leicester, conducted them towards the capital, and was every where received with the loudest acclamations. When he approached London, the citizens went in crowds to meet and welcome their new monarch. As the sweating sickness raged in London at that time, he was forced to postpone his coronation till the 20th of October, when it was performed with the usual solemnity. There appeared, for the first time, a band of fifty archers, which the king had established for security, as well as pomp, and who were termed *yeomen of the guard*. The parliament then proceeding to the settlement of the crown, enacted *that the inheritance of it should rest and remain in the person of Henry and in the heirs of his body, lawfully coming, perpetually*, which last word seemed to have been inserted only to cut off the claim of the princess Elizabeth, though she was not once mentioned in that act. The late king, the duke of Norfolk, and thirty other lords and gentlemen, who had fought under king Richard at Bosworth were attainted by an act of parliament; but Henry thought it prudent to publish a free par-

don to all his subjects who signified their submission to his government by taking the oath of fealty. As the king himself had been attainted, and his right of succession to the crown might thence be exposed to some doubt; the judges declared as a maxim, that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood, and that from the time the king assumed royal authority the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged.

*Ann. 1486, 1487.*

The long expected marriage of the king with the princess Elizabeth was celebrated on the 18th of January 1486. The rejoicings on this occasion being by their unanimity and liveliness far superior to those at the king's accession and coronation, convinced him that the house of York was still the favourite of the people, which gave great discontent to his jealous spirit; it is even reported that they deprived the princess of the affection of her husband, who was so little satisfied with his own title, that in the following year he applied for a confirmation of it, to Pope Innocent VIII. who readily granted a bull in whatever terms the king was pleased to desire, and in which excommunication was denounced against every one who should either disturb him in the present possession or the heirs of his body in the future succession of the crown.

Henry now enjoying peace abroad and tranquillity at home, set out on a progress into the north, where he knew the people were more generally attached to the house of York, and even to the late king. When he arrived at York, he heard that sir Humphrey Stafford and Thomas, his brother, were marching with an army of rebels to besiege Worcester, and that viscount Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men, was approaching to attack him in

York. Henry, though surrounded with enemies in these disaffected counties, soon assembled a body of about three thousand men, and gave the command of them to his uncle Jasper duke of Bedford, directing him to march boldly towards the enemy, and when he approached them, to proclaim a full pardon to all who would lay down their arms. Lord Lovel, dreading the effect of this proclamation, fled in the night, and made his escape into Flanders; his followers seeing themselves without a leader accepted of the offered pardon. The rebels before Worcester, hearing of the dispersion of their confederates, disbanded. The two brothers Stafford being taken, the eldest was executed, and the other pardoned. Soon after the queen being at Winchester was there prematurely delivered of a son, who was named Arthur, in honour of the famous British prince of that name, from whom the king pretended to derive his descent, by his grand father Owen Tudor.

While the high idea entertained of Henry's policy and vigour retained the nobility and men of character in obedience, the public discontent arising from his hatred and jealousy against the house of York, increased every day, and the consequences of his unpopular government soon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature. Richard Simon, a priest, who lived in Oxford, formed the design of raising a pretender to his crown, and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a baker, and who being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. Simon had already insinuated that Simnel was the prince Richard duke of York, when a report was spread that Warwick, the son of the late duke of Clarence, had made his escape from the tower; Simon observ-

ing that this news was attended with general satisfaction, made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince ; but conscious that whatever care he might take to convey instruction to his pupil, the imposture would not bear a close inspection, he determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland, where the people were zealously attached to the House of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, who had been their Lieutenant.

Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, whose protection Simnel claimed, as being the son of the duke of Clarence, not suspecting so bold an imposture, consulted some persons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident, and found them even more sanguine in their zeal and belief than himself. The story diffused itself among those of lower condition, and became the object of still greater passion and credulity, till the people in Dublin tendered unanimously their allegiance to Simnel as to the true Plantagenet. They paid the pretended prince attendance as their sovereign, lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole island followed the example of the capital.

Henry, perplexed at this intelligence, and suspecting the queen Dowager of countenancing Simnel, she was apprehended by his order, and conducted to the Nunnery of Bermondsey, to be kept there in close confinement ; all her estates and property of every kind were confiscated ; and there she remained till her death, *in prison, poverty, and solitude*. This act of arbitrary authority or vengeance was cloaked under the allegation, that, notwithstanding the secret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, she had yielded to the solicitations and menaces of Richard, and delivered into his hands that

princess and her sister; but it was generally suspected that such a light pretence could not be the real motive of the severity with which she was treated, and that Henry had preferred to employ it than to accuse so near a relation of a conspiracy against him.

The next measure of the king was to order that the real earl of Warwick should be taken from the tower, conducted in procession through the streets of London to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that some men of rank, attached to the house of York, and best acquainted with the person of the prince, should approach him, and converse with him; he trusted that these being convinced of the absurd imposture of Simnel would put a stop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient succeeded in England; but in Ireland, the people persisted in their revolt, and zealously retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an imposture, and of having shewn a counterfeited Warwick to the public.

Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. and duchess dowager of Burgundy, hearing of the malignant jealousy entertained by Henry against her family, and his oppression of all his partisans, was moved with the highest indignation, and longed for an opportunity of making him repent of that persecution to which so many of her friends had fallen victims, while many others had been obliged to fly to the continent. The most conspicuous among the latter was prince John earl of Lincoln, who by his mother Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk, eldest sister to Edward IV. was nephew to the duchess of Burgundy and to Richard III. who after the loss of his own son had declared Lincoln successor to the crown. After consulting with him and viscount Lovel, Margaret hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, under the command of a brave and

experienced officer, and sent them over together with these two noblemen to join Simnel in Ireland.

The accession of this military force, raised the courage of the Irish to such a degree, that they resolved to invade England, and entertained hopes that the disaffected counties in the north would join them. Henry, timely informed of these dispositions had prepared himself for defence, by ordering troops to be levied under the command of the duke of Bedford and earl of Oxford; and to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, famous for miracles, and there offered prayers for deliverance from his enemies. Being informed that the rebels were landed in Lancashire, he advanced towards them as far as Coventry. The hostile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a bloody battle, more obstinately disputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. Lincoln, and all the principal leaders of the rebels, perished with four thousand of their followers. Simnel and his tutor Simon were taken prisoners; Simon being a priest was only committed to close custody: Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment, he was pardoned and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer. Strict inquiries were however made after those who had in the least assisted or favoured the rebels. The punishments were not all sanguinary, but heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents, which produced large sums of money.

After the king had thus gratified his two predominant passions, revenge and avarice, he called a parliament on the 9th of November 1487, when he informed the two houses of the state of affairs on the continent, and asked their advice, to determine whether he should enter into an auxiliary and de,

ensive war for the Bretons against France. This measure produced the desired effect. The parliament granted the king a liberal supply, and advised him to enter into the war. To increase still more his popularity, he at last consented not to postpone any longer the coronation of the queen, and that ceremony so much wished for by the people was performed November 25th, 1487. About the same time, he restored the marquis of Dorset, the queen's uterine brother, to his liberty, of which he had been deprived at the beginning of the Irish rebellion. The court of star chamber was instituted or rather re-established this year.

*Ann. 1488, 1489.*

Charles VIII. was king of France at that time, but on account of his minority, Anne of Beaujeu, his sister, was at the head of the government, according to the last will of the late king Lewis XI. in preference to the queen dowager Charlotte of Savoy, whom he disliked. She no sooner heard of the warlike dispositions of England against France, than she dispatched ambassadors to Henry to represent to him, that the duke of Brittany having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been obliged, contrary to his inclination, to carry war into that duchy; that the war being thus on his part merely defensive, he had a right to expect, both from the justice of his cause and from the obligations which the court of France had conferred on Henry, when the duke of Brittany, or his mercenary counsellors, had deserted him and put his life to the utmost hazard, that England would at least preserve a neutrality between the contending parties.

Henry's frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averse to all warlike enter-



prises, and the alluring prospect of keeping in his own coffers the money granted to him on that occasion, induced him previously to try the expedient of negotiation. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the courts of France and Brittany, (March 17th, 1488,) to propose his mediation to the contending parties; and they actually concluded a truce between England and France, to continue to the 17th of January 1489.

The war-taxes being not so cheerfully paid as they had been granted, the earl of Northumberland was ordered to cause them to be levied with the greatest strictness. When the people were informed of it, they became furious, broke into the earl's house and murdered him with several of his servants. Sir John Egermont placed himself at the head of the insurgents, and declared open war against Henry as a tyrant and usurper. But the king sent immediately a body of troops, who soon dispersed the rebels. Twelve of the ringleaders of that mob were hanged at York, sir John Egermont escaped to Flanders, and the tax was levied without any further opposition.

In the mean time, the Bretons under the command of the duke of Orleans, rashly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were discomfited. The duke of Orleans, who ten years after was king of France, under the name of Louis XII. the prince of Orange, and many others of rank were taken prisoners, and the military force of Brittany was totally broken. The French army was commanded by Louis Latrimouille, against whom some base courtiers endeavouring to excite the rancour of Louis XII. when he had ascended the throne, were nobly answered by that magnanimous prince. "It does not become the king of France to be the avenger of injuries received by the duke of Orleans."

By this defeat, the affairs of the duke of Brittany being almost quite desperate, he was reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, and it was stipulated by the treaty, that Charles should retain all the towns and forts he had taken, and withdraw the rest of his army out of the country, which last article he eluded. The duke died a few days after the conclusion of this peace, leaving the princess Anne, his daughter, in her thirteenth year, heiress of his dominions and distresses. Henry concluded a treaty with her, in which he engaged to send her an army of six thousand archers, on condition that she should deliver into his hands certain strong towns for the repayment of any expence whatsoever respecting these troops till they were safely re-landed in England, though he had actually received the supplies granted by parliament for these very expences : but, by a clause still more extraordinary, Henry in this treaty reserved to himself the power of observing his truce with France, which rendered these auxiliary troops as useless as expensive. The most griping usurer could not have made a harder bargain with his most necessitous debtor ; in fact the English army landed in Brittany in March, 1489, where they remained very quietly till November, when they returned to England, and the campaign passed without any action. At the same period the duchess Ann and Maximilian, king of the Romans, were married secretly and by proxy with this uncommon ceremony ; the prince of Nassau, Maximilian's proxy, put his naked leg into the bed where the young duchess was laid, as a kind of consummation of the marriage.

*Ann. 1490, 1491.*

Charles VIII. had formerly been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, who being too

young for the consummation, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and bore the title of queen of France. But that young monarch began to perceive that the conquest of Brittany, in opposition to the natives and to all the great powers of Christendom, would prove a difficult enterprize, and that the marriage of the young duchess with Maximilian appeared destructive to the grandeur and even security of the French monarchy, as that prince, possessing Flanders on the one hand and Brittany on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for these evils, was the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not consummated, and the espousal of the duchess of Brittany by the king of France, was the only means of fully reannexing that fief to his crown. These mighty considerations having determined Charles to adopt that plan, the measures of the French ministry in its execution were of the utmost wisdom and secrecy; while they pressed Brittany with all the rigours of war, they secretly gained the count of Dunois, who possessed great authority with the Bretons, and engaged in the king's interest the prince of Orange, cousin german to the duchess; they gave him his liberty and sent him into Brittany, as the chief difficulty lay in surmounting the strong prepossessions of the princess against the French nation, and particularly against Charles; she had also fixed her affections on Maximilian, and as she now deemed him her husband, she considered it as the greatest guilt, and the violation of the most solemn engagement, to contract a marriage with any other person. In order to overcome her scruples, Charles restored to liberty the duke of Orleans, who, though formerly a suitor to the duchess, eagerly employed in favour of Charles all the interest he still possessed in Brittany. When this delicate enterprise was brought

to a sufficient degree of maturity, Charles advanced with a powerful army and invested Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess, who at last opened the gates of the city and agreed to marry the king of France. After the celebration of the marriage, she was conducted to St. Denis, where she was crowned, and thence made her entry into Paris amidst the joyful acclamations of the people.

Henry, highly displeased at the unforeseen success of this transaction, was prompted by it to seek the means of vengeance, and the first which his ruling passion suggested to him was a supply of money. He accordingly, on pretence of a French war, issued a commission for levying a *benevolence* on his people, a species of unlawful taxation, or rather exaction, which had been recently abolished by Richard III. by his statute of 1483, in the preamble of which it is said, that "many families had been absolutely ruined by these pretended presents, which were in reality extorted taxes." This violence (for such it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were possessed of the ready money. The commissioners, who levied it, were instructed to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended. If the persons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parsimony must necessarily have enriched them; if their way of living was splendid and hospitable, they were concluded to be opulent, and their quota in the tax was in proportion with their expences. Far from being apprehensive of a parliament on account of this arbitrary imposition, Henry soon after summoned that assembly, and he even expected to enrich himself farther by working on their passions and prejudices. He succeeded so completely in inflaming them by the ideas of subduing France, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, that they granted him two fifteenths; and

the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation.

*Ann. 1492 to 1495.*

Henry crosses the sea and arrives at Calais on the 6th of October, at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, and besieges Boulogne ; but notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, there had been secret advances made towards peace above three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected measure, the king's ambassadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him that no assistance was to be expected from Maximilian. Soon after, messengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France. Though these articles of intelligence were carefully spread throughout the army, the king being still apprehensive lest a sudden peace, after such magnificent promises, might expose him to reproach, he secretly engaged the marquis of Dorset, together with twenty-three persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. According to that petition founded on several pretences, all of which might have been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces, no time was lost to put the last hand to the treaty : a few days sufficed for that purpose. The demands of Henry being wholly pecuniary, were readily granted by Charles VIII. He engaged to pay nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling, partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to Brittany, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. and he stipulated a yearly

pension to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by Bacon, (p. 605) made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. This treaty was signed at Etaples, November 3d, and ratified November 6th, 1492.

The sudden return of that expensive armament, without having performed any thing for the honour or advantage of the country, highly irritated the minds of the people all over England. In a word, Henry, notwithstanding his prosperous situation, was very unpopular at this period, when a pretender to his crown appeared. He is well known in history by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but he called himself Richard duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV. late king of England. The opinion adopted by almost all historians, is that Warbeck was an impostor: but the learned Dr. Henry, in his *History of England*, and Mr. Horace Walpole, in his *Historical Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III.* has thrown such a light upon that question, that the contrary opinion may be supported with the most plausible arguments. Previous to any investigation of Warbeck's pretensions and character, it is necessary to state some authentic facts, which never were nor can be denied.

When the last war was ready to break out between France and England, Perkin Warbeck, assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, landed at Cork, where he was joined by the mayor and several others. He wrote to the two potent earls of Desmond and Kildare, to solicit their assistance; but found them unwilling to engage in so dangerous an undertaking: and the Irish, who still smarted from the wounds they had received in supporting Simnel, were in general averse to venture so soon in an attempt of the same kind. When Perkin's affairs were in this unpromising state, he received a

message from the king of France, inviting him to Paris, and promising him protection and assistance. He embarked immediately, and was received by Charles VIII. with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; a handsome pension and magnificent lodgings were assigned to him, and in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, a guard was given him, of which Lord Congresal accepted the office of captain.

Perkin, both by his deportment and personal qualities, supported the prepossession which was spread abroad of his royal pedigree; and the intelligence being received in England, sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen, came to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes. But when the peace was concluded at Etaples, a hint was given him to leave France. He went immediately to the duchess of Burgundy, presented himself to her, as her unfortunate nephew Richard duke of York, and claimed her protection. She at first treated him roughly, calling him an impostor, and saying she had been once deceived, but would not be so a second time. She desired, before all her court, to be informed how he was entitled to assume the name which he bore, examined every circumstance he related with the most scrupulous nicety, put many particular questions to him, and after a long and severe scrutiny of his answers, acknowledged and embraced him as her nephew; the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, treated him in all respects as the head of her family, and honoured him with the appellation of the *White Rose of England*.

No sooner the news of these transactions reached England, than several gentlemen of the York party

held private consultations, and sent sir Robert Clifford to Brussels to investigate the truth. After having had many conversations with Perkin, he wrote back to England, that he knew perfectly the parson of the duke of York, that Perkin was undoubtedly that prince himself, and that no circumstance of his story was susceptible of the least doubt.

In the mean time, Henry sent several trusty spies into the Low Countries, and was informed by them that Perkin Warbeck was the son of one John Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay; that he was born in London; that Edward IV. had been his godfather; that, in his childhood, his parents had carried him with them to Tournay; that, when a young boy, he lived some time with a relation at Antwerp; after which he became such a wanderer, that he could be no farther traced. It was added, to account for his likeness to Edward IV. and to the real duke of York, that Edward had entertained a secret commerce with the Jew's wife. Such an improbable account, unsupported by any proof, could never lead the king to the discovery of the true history of this young man whoever he was. Other agents of higher rank were sent over to Brussels, and directed to insinuate themselves in the confidence of Warbeck, to watch all his words and actions, and, above all, to spare no expence to gain sir Robert Clifford, which they accomplished; and as he was the most intimate confidant of Warbeck, he became a most dangerous enemy to him and to his friends. Many of them, in consequence of information received from him, were all seized in one day, tried and condemned, as guilty of high treason, for corresponding with Warbeck, and promising to join him. Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had rendered the greatest services to Henry, who at the battle of Bosworth had saved his life, gained the victory, and placed the crown upon his head, was one of these



victims. These discoveries and executions struck with terror all the partisans of Perkin. He knew, however, that he had many friends in England, who hated the king, and wished for a revolution; and he determined to make a trial of their strength and resolution, by appearing among them. Having accordingly, with the assistance of the duchess of Burgundy, collected a body of troops of different nations, to the amount of six hundred men, he embarked with them, and approached the coast of Kent, near Sandwich (July 3d, 1495). There he commanded a party of his men to land, to gain intelligence and invite the country to declare for him. But the Kentish people, observing that they were all foreigners of a suspicious appearance, fell upon them, killed many, and took one hundred and fifty of them prisoners. These were tried, condemned, and all of them executed by order from the king, to shew what those might expect who would engage in such attempts.

Warbeck, finding that none of his men returned, and suspecting what had happened, sailed back to Flanders. But a treaty of friendship and commerce was concluded (24th February, 1496) between England and the Netherlands, by which the contracting parties mutually agreed not to admit the enemies of each other into their territories, and to expel, reciprocally such of them as had been already admitted. These stipulations being evidently designed against Warbeck, he resolved to depart before he was compelled, and embarked for Ireland with such of his retainers as still adhered to his cause. But there he found, that the people of all ranks were more averse than ever to embark in his quarrel, and determined accordingly to direct his course to Scotland. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he presented himself to James IV. who then governed that kingdom, and to whom he had been recommended by

the king of France, and by the emperor Maximilian. He approached the king, who was seated on his throne, and surrounded by his nobles; and, in an elegant speech, he related all the particulars concerning his birth, his imprisonment, and his rescue. To this speech, king James replied, that, whoever he was, he should never have reason to repent that he had put himself under his protection. (Bacon, p. 148, 153.)

To these circumstances England was principally indebted for that wise and famous statute, which enacted, that no person, who should by arms or otherwise assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law, or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience. It is more than probable, that Henry, conscious of the defect of his title, promoted this law as the best means to secure his partisans against all events. It is no less remarkable, that though there is no nation who can boast of more loyalty and affection for their legitimate sovereign than the English, there never was a throne more frequently usurped than that of England, until the constitution was fixed on its present immoveable basis.

*Ann.* 1496, 1497.

There is no doubt that king James was convinced, at that time that Warbeck really was, what he pretended to be; and he carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage Catherine Gordon, a lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and related to the royal family. Though by the last truce between the two nations, it was stipulated that neither of the two kings should admit the enemies of the other into his dominions, or give them any assistance; James having determined to support Warbeck, raised an

army, made an inroad into England, attended by him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might rise an insurrection in the northern countries. Perkin himself published a manifesto full of the bitterest invectives against Henry, and in which his own history is related in these terms. "Whereas we in our tender age escaped by God's great might out of the tower of London, and were secretly conveyed over the sea to other divers countries, there remaining certain years as unknown, &c. &c." He then invited all his subjects to rally to his standard against the usurper of his throne, &c. &c.

This manifesto did not produce the desired effect; few or none of the English joined the invading army; and about the end of the year, the Scots returned into their own country to secure their booty. Henry determining to resent this insult in a signal manner, summoned a parliament, who granted him one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, together with two fifteenths, for a war with Scotland. After making this grant they were dismissed. These taxes were easily obtained, but Henry found it was not so easy to levy the money. The inhabitants of Cornwall were the first to refuse contributing supplies for the safety of the northern counties which were so remote from them. Their discontents were further inflamed by a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by being loudest in every complaint against government, had acquired a great popularity. To him was joined one Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, the oracle of the neighbourhood. Under these two leaders, the insurgents passed through the counties of Devon and Somerset. When they reached Wells they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, but ambitious and restless in his temper. He put himself at their head, and conducted them towards the capital; they amounted, it is said, to sixteen thousand men. As they met with no op-

position, they reached Blackheath, and encamped within sight of London, about the middle of June 1497. Henry employed against them the army he had levied some time before to oppose the Scots. Though the Cornish were brave and strong men, yet being undisciplined and ill armed, they could not resist a superior force of regular troops. About two thousand of them were killed in the battle of Blackheath (22d June), and almost all the rest taken prisoners. Lord Audley, and the two incendiaries, Flammock and the Farrier of Bodmin, were taken and executed; the other prisoners were given up to the disposal of their captors, who set them at liberty for two or three shillings a man.

In the mean time, king James made a second irruption into the north of England, besieged the castle of Norham, and plundered the neighbourhood. But being informed that the earl of Surrey was approaching with an army of 20,000 men, he raised the siege, and returned into his own kingdom. The earl advanced four miles into Scotland, took and demolished the little castle of Ayton, and then returned to Berwick, where he disbanded his army.

Henry earnestly wished for a peace or truce with Scotland, to deprive Warbeck of an asylum in that country; and having discovered by means of the Spanish ambassador, whom he had persuaded to go to Edinburgh for that purpose, that king James's dispositions were not averse to a negociation on that subject; plenipotentiaries were sent from both sides at Ayton, to agree upon the conditions of a treaty.

When king James took that resolution, he intimated to Warbeck in the softest terms, that it was become necessary for him to leave Scotland. Warbeck, it is said, behaved on this trying occasion with great composure and dignity, and embarked for Cork, where he landed, July 30th, with his amiable consort, and about 120 followers.

A truce was concluded between the plenipotentiaries of the contending parties, September 29th, to continue from that day to seven years; and about three months after, it was prolonged to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of the longest liver.

*Ann. 1498, 1499.*

Warbeck. either invited by the inhabitants of Cornwall, or informed that, on account of the odious tax, which was still collected with great severity, they were again taking arms, and resolved to make another attempt more directly against the king than the former, he sailed from Ireland, and landed at Whitsand Bay (September 7th, 1498) with his wife and about a hundred men, who followed his fortunes. Being soon joined by 3000 of the insurgents at Bodmin, he published a second manifesto, nearly similar to the former, and by the advice of his confederates besieged Exeter, the strongest and most opulent city in those parts. But as he had no artillery he was vigorously repulsed with the loss of 200 men, and compelled to raise the siege. He then retired into Somersetshire, where, receiving news that lord d'Aubeney, with a considerable body of troops, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Devonshire, and several other barons, who had raised their forces, marched against him, announcing the approach of the king with a much greater army, he fled in the night, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Bewdly. The insurgents being thus abandoned by their leader, submitted to the king's mercy, and were dismissed, except a few of the chiefs, who were soon after hanged at Exeter.

The king being informed of the place where the wife of Warbeck had taken refuge, sent a party of horse to bring her from thence, and was so much

affected by her beauty, modesty, and distress, that he treated her with great tenderness, sent her to his queen, and settled upon her a decent allowance for her support. This unfortunate lady was long known in the court of England by the name of the White Rose, that had been given to her husband by the duchess of Burgundy, and was continued to her on account of her innocence and beauty.

Henry now deliberated with his council what was to be done with Warbeck, and was advised to tempt him to leave the sanctuary and surrender on promise of life. This promise was made and accepted. Warbeck was accordingly conducted to London, where he was committed to the custody of certain trusty keepers (28th November, 1498), with a strict charge not to suffer him to escape. Henry never admitted him into his presence, but only viewed him from a window. Warbeck, impatient of restraint, soon after escaped from his keepers, and being hotly pursued, took sanctuary in the monastery of Shene, in Surrey; from whence he was taken and brought back to Westminster. There, according to the majority of historians, he was prevailed upon to acknowledge that he was an impostor, and to give an account of his real family and adventures, which he read to the people from a scaffold near the gate of Westminster hall, on one day, when he was set on the stocks, and on the next day from a scaffold in Cheapside, after which he was committed to the tower.

The evident falsehood and absurdity of this confession demonstrates, that if it ever existed, it was either extorted by torture or fabricated after the execution of Warbeck. It was unknown to Polydore Virgil and Fabian, both cotemporary historians, who never mentioned it; besides, far from removing any doubts about Perkin Warbeck, it would rather have increased them, as it could never

agree with the account published by the king from the information of his spies, and therefore both could not be true.

When Warbeck had remained some months in the tower, he formed a scheme for effecting his escape; gained four of his keepers, and prevailed upon his fellow prisoner, Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, to accompany him in his flight. This plot being discovered, Warbeck was tried for attempting to escape out of prison, with a design to excite a new insurrection, found guilty, and hanged at Tyburn (November 23d, 1499), with the late mayor of Cork, one of his most zealous partizans. It is reported by some historians, that from the scaffold on which he was executed, Warbeck read his former confession to the people, with a declaration that it was true. However it must be acknowledged, that whatever may have been the different opinions about his real birth and character, none has been supported till now by sufficient proofs to enable an impartial reader to decide this question, which I will endeavour to elucidate by the following observations.

Richard, duke of York, the youngest son of Edward IV., having been confined in the tower in 1483, when he was only nine years old, was ever since supposed to have been murdered in prison; this rumour was spread not only in England, but all over Europe; and, in 1492, it had acquired such a consistence by a general belief during nine years, that the possibility of Richard being still alive was utterly inadmissible, unless it was proved by the most satisfactory evidence, how he had made his escape out of the tower, by whom he had been assisted, in what places and with what persons he had lived from the time of his rescue. He was likewise to be confronted to such persons as were entrusted with the care of his infancy and education, previous to his

imprisonment; he was, above all, to be acknowledged by his mother and sisters. Such a confrontation never took place, such evidences were never heard of. Perkin's claim, either he was or not the real duke of York, rested only on the conformity of his age with that of the prince, on a strong resemblance to him, acknowledged by many persons, on his perfect knowledge of the English language and correctness of his pronunciation, on the accurateness of his account of the private anecdotes of the royal family, and of the daily incidents, pursuits, and companions of his juvenile years. Besides, it was hinted, and even urged in his favour, that out of gratitude for the persons who had acted any part in restoring him to liberty and saving his life, he could not expose them to the revenge of the usurper, by disclosing their names; that though in his proclamations he had abstained to mention any particular on this subject, it was obvious that he had been more explicit with the duchess of Burgundy, and the kings of France and Scotland, since they had all acknowledged him as the real duke of York; that as to his confrontation to his mother and sisters, there was not the least doubt that it had never been in his power to be introduced to them. However, all these circumstances and reasonings, though admissible as a sufficient foundation for probabilities and conjectures which might aid and strengthen the proof, can never supply it. Thence it may be concluded that Perkin, whoever he was, never ascertained his claim by such satisfactory proofs as could entitle him to be acknowledged by the nation as their legitimate sovereign. It remains to investigate, if it was better proved by Henry that Perkin was an impostor.

Rapin and Hume have erroneously stated, that, "on the appearance of Warbeck, the first object of Henry was to ascertain the death of the real



“ duke of York ; that out of five persons who had  
“ been employed by Richard III. in the murder of  
“ his nephews, Tyrrel and Dighton alone were  
“ alive, and agreed on the same story.” But Thomas  
More, to whom both these historians refer, says  
that, “ when in the tower for treason committed  
“ against Henry, he (Tyrrel) and Dighton confessed  
“ the crime.” The date of this confession must of  
course agree with that of Tyrrel’s treason and im-  
prisonment ; now it is evinced by authentic docu-  
ments, that at the time of Perkin’s appearance, and  
after his reception at Paris, Tyrrel enjoyed Henry’s  
confidence ; that he had obtained from him the com-  
mand of Guines, and was appointed one of the  
commissioners to conclude the treaty of Estaples.  
(Rymer Fœd. vol. xii. p. 481.) He was not im-  
prisoned till ten years afterwards, when, on Suffolk’s  
flight in 1502, he was accused of treason, attainted,  
and beheaded ; while Dighton, who had de-  
clared himself to be one of the murderers of the two  
princes, was set at liberty, to the disgrace of public  
justice. But the testimony of such miscreants met  
with so little credit, that Henry never made use of  
it in his subsequent declarations. (Bacon, p. 123.)  
We may then consider as an undeniable truth, that  
previous to Perkin’s execution, Henry could not get  
any proof of the important and decisive fact of the  
murder of the two princes. The historical narrative  
he published of the birth and pretended adventures  
of Perkin, related by his spies, was a ridiculous and  
incredible tale, either fabricated by them, or com-  
posed of absurd hearsays unsupported by any proof,  
contradicting one another, and thoroughly contra-  
dicted by the pretended confession of Perkin, if it  
ever existed, which is still very dubious. From  
Henry’s inability to vindicate his title in a more un-  
exceptionable manner, it evidently appears, that he  
had not the least means to ascertain the pretended

impostures of Perkin, whose identity with the duke of York was rather authenticated than disproved, not only by Henry's historical narrative, but, above all, by his not making the least use of the infallible criterion he had in his power to discover the truth. Personal identity at different periods, derives its only proof from the acknowledgments and declarations of friends and nearest relatives. Perkin's mother must have remembered her son, and the sisters their brother ; the lapse of nine years could not have effaced from their memory the lost object of their fond regret. Manhood might expand, but it could not extirpate his youthful features, or if these were altered, some particular mark or speckle more or less conspicuous, on the face or on any limb, would remain, and awake mutual recollection ; as well as a thousand incidents, such as the circumstances of the night in which they took refuge in the sanctuary, their distresses, their dangers, their endearments and solemn farewell. The declarations of the queen dowager, of the queen, and of her sister, would have decided who Perkin was ; their denial of his pretensions would have undoubtedly disabused the nation, as their verdict admitted of no appeal. No historian has mentioned till now the motive which had prevented Henry to recur to that obvious and uncontrovertible mode of detection : therefore it is not improbable, that he rejected it only out of fear that the identity of Perkin with the duke of York, already attested by Stanley, Fitzwalter, and many other friends of Edward IV., who finally sealed their conviction with their blood, would be farther corroborated by the testimony of the princesses.

If these circumstances are not sufficient to constitute that legal and conclusive evidence, necessary to obtain a verdict, they may perhaps be considered as amounting to a moral proof that Perkin was not an impostor.

Five days after Perkin's execution, the unfortunate earl of Warwick, being condemned by his peers, was beheaded on Tower-hill (28th November, 1499). Such was the end of the last prince of the male line of the Plantagenets, who had reigned in England 331 years, from the accession of Henry II. ann. 1154, to that of Henry VII. ann. 1485.

*Ann. 1501, 1502.*

The deplorable end of Warwick and the fate of Perkin, filled the whole kingdom with such an aversion to the government of Henry, that he endeavoured to alleviate the odium of this guilt by sharing it with his ally Ferdinand of Arragon, who, he said, had scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur Prince of Wales, while any male of the house of York remained. That marriage, which had been negociated during seven years, was at last completed. The young prince, a few months after, sickened and died. Henry, as desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, as unwilling to restore the two hundred thousand ducats, which were the dowry of the princess, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted with her by means of the Pope's dispensation. This marriage was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. In the mean time the peace with Scotland was consolidated by a marriage between king James and the princess Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter.

*Ann. 1503, 1504, 1505.*

The queen, who was deservedly a favourite of the nation, died in child-bed (11th February); and the infant did not long survive her.

Henry's continued successes over domestic ene-

mies, having reduced the people to the most complete submission, he gave full scope to his avarice, which being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. His two ministers, Empsom and Dudley, both lawyers, were perfectly qualified to second his rapacious inclinations, by perverting the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent. Indictments issued by them filled the prisons with persons which were never brought to trial, and could not recover their liberty, unless by paying heavy fines and ransoms, which were called mitigations and compositions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected; men were summoned before the two ministers at their private houses, in a pretended court of commission, where, in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, juries themselves were summoned, were fined, imprisoned, and punished, if they gave sentences against the inclinations of the ministers. In vain the people would have applied for protection to the parliament, who was frequently summoned during this reign. That assembly was so overawed, that at this very time, when Henry's iniquities and extortions arose to the highest pitch, Dudley, the principal minister of them, was chosen speaker of the house of commons; and, though the king was known to be immensely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expensive enterprizes of any kind, they granted him the subsidy he demanded. His avarice was so insatiable, that next year he renewed that arbitrary and oppressive tax, which he was pleased to call *benevolence*.

The influence of the nobility had been already much weakened by the power granted to them to sell their estates, which, before this time, were unalienable. Another act to the same purpose was passed in this reign, to prevent the nobles giving liveries to many hundreds of their dependants, who

were thus retained to serve their lord, and kept like the soldiers of a standing army, to be ready at the command of their leader. By this act none but menial servants were permitted to wear a livery under severe penalties, and this law was enforced with the utmost vigour. The king one day paying a visit to John de Vere, earl of Oxford, one of his most zealous and faithful friends, was entertained by him several days, in a splendid and sumptuous manner, at his castle of Henningham. When he was ready to depart, he saw ranged in two lines the earl's friends, servants, and retinue, dressed in very rich liveries, apparently to do him honour. "These handsome gentlemen and yeomen," said Henry, addressing the earl, "are undoubtedly your menial servants?" To which the earl, not perceiving the drift of the question, replied, that they were only men whom he kept in pay to do him honour upon such occasions. At this the king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I must not suffer to have my laws broken before my face; my attorney must talk with you." The earl was accordingly prosecuted, and forced to compound for no less than fifteen thousand marks.

By these means Henry collected a greater mass of money than ever was in the possession of any of his predecessors; it amounted, it is said, to no less than one million eight hundred thousand in cash, besides plate and jewels.

*Ann. 1506.*

Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV., and brother to the late earl of Lincoln, had some years before this period killed a man, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remission of the crime. Henry had granted it on condition that he should appear in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more offended at the affront than

grateful for the favour, had fled into Flanders, and taken shelter with his aunt the duchess of Burgundy; but being promised forgiveness by the king, he had returned to England. Actuated, however, by the restlessness of his temper, he had eloped again into Flanders. The king, conscious of the general discontent which prevailed against his administration, suspected that this incident might be connected with some conspiracy, and he employed his usual artifices to discover it. He directed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hamm, to desert his charge on a supposed cause of discontent, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his services. Many persons of rank were committed to prison, upon information secretly conveyed by that means; but Henry's severity fell principally upon Sir James Windham and Sir James Tyrrel, who were brought to their trial, condemned and executed. The traitor, Curson, having completed all the services expected from him, suddenly deserted the earl, and came over to England, where the king received him with unusual marks of favour. Suffolk, alarmed as well as disgusted at this instance of perfidy, fled secretly into France, then to Germany, and afterwards returned into the Low Countries, where he was at first protected by Philip, archduke of Austria, though he was then in close alliance with the king.

The archduke being embarked for Spain with his consort and court, on the 10th of January 1506, his fleet was dispersed in a violent storm, and his own ship got with great difficulty into the port of Weymouth. Philip, convinced that it would be impossible for him to avoid the king's visit, immediately set out for Windsor, where he was received with every possible demonstration of respect and friendship. But Henry, having now Philip in his possession, did not neglect the opportunity of complaining

of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions, and insisted on having him sent over to England. Philip found himself under a necessity of complying with his demand; but he first exacted Henry's promise, that Suffolk's life should be spared, and then invited over that nobleman to England, insinuating that the king would grant him a pardon; but as soon as he arrived he was committed to the tower. Philip having fully satisfied Henry on all his demands, and particularly by signing a commercial treaty between England and Castile, very advantageous to this country, was at last allowed to depart after a stay of three months, and safely landed in Spain, where he was put in possession of the throne of Castile.

Henry survived these transactions only two years, during which nothing memorable occurred, except his affiancing his second daughter Mary to the young archduke Charles, son of Philip of Castile. He entertained also some ideas of marriage for himself, first with the queen dowager of Naples, afterwards with the duchess dowager of Savoy, sister of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all such thoughts, and awoke in his conscience the most bitter remorse for all his iniquities, extortions, and severities. The terrors under which he laboured prompted him to endeavour to make atonement for his crimes, by distributing alms, by founding religious houses, and by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasure. The nearer approaches of death impressing new terrors upon his mind, he ordered by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He directed his executors to cause two thousand masses to be said for his soul within a month after his death, at the rate of sixpence a piece. At last, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-second year of his age, he died on the 22d of

April 1509, in his favourite palace of Richmond, which he had built in 1498, on the spot where the old Shene palace stood. Of his three sons, Arthur, Henry, and Edmund, Henry only survived, and succeeded him. Arthur died at seventeen and Edmund at five years of age. His eldest daughter Margaret was married to James IV. king of Scotland, and Mary to Charles, the youthful heir of all the extensive dominions of Austria and Spain.

Henry, endowed with personal courage, energy, and good understanding, steady and impenetrably secret in all his schemes, indefatigable in his application to business, and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterprize, would have had a most glorious reign, had he united to all his good qualities the most essential of all, justice, but at the same time, that which is less to be expected from usurpers. He never endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his subjects, and the few services he rendered them were derived from his views of personal profit, rather than from the benign motives of kindness or generosity. He never had a friend, and seldom forgave an enemy. An inordinate love of money, and an unrelenting hatred to the house of York, were his ruling passions, and the principal sources of all his vices and of all his troubles. His exactions and extortions of all kinds, his barbarous and misplaced rigour towards many persons of rank, and his cruelty to the innocent earl of Warwick, have for ever stamped his character with the odious name of a tyrant.

The power of the kings of England, which had always been somewhat irregular and discretionary, was scarcely ever so arbitrary and oppressive during any former reign. Henry's wisdom has been highly admired for having reduced the exorbitant power of the barons, which was no less dangerous to the crown than obnoxious to the people; but it was far



from being a difficult task, as two thirds of the great families were ruined by the civil wars, and at his accession there were only twenty-seven temporal peers in England. The people, tired and exhausted by intestine convulsions, were willing to submit to usurpations, and even injuries, rather than continue in the same state of discord and misery. Henry perceived this disposition, and derived from it as much advantage as he could to increase his authority, that of the star-chamber was in the earliest part of his reign confirmed in some cases by act of parliament, and that arbitrary jurisdiction, however utterly incompatible with liberty, lasted till the reign of Charles I., a little before the civil wars, when it was entirely abolished.

Among the principal laws passed in this reign, and not already mentioned, the following are the most remarkable. Suits were given to the poor *in forma pauperis*, that is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the counsel; a good law, especially in that age, when the people laboured under the oppression of the great. The benefit of clergy was abridged; the criminal, on the first offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter denoting his crime, and to be punished capitally for a new offence. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any person without previously summoning him before their court. Severe laws, very hurtful to trade, were made against taking interest for money; all evasive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were equally prohibited, as well as the profits of exchange, as savouring usury. However, it must be observed, to the praise of Henry VII., that sometimes he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprises which they had in view.

A new race of people called Gypsies, or Egyptians,

as coming originally from Egypt, appeared in England under Henry's reign. They soon became so numerous, and committed so many crimes, that a law was issued, enacting that no more Egyptians should be admitted into the realm ; and that if any of them landed, they should be immediately seized and ordered to depart. It was further enacted, that a proclamation should be published, commanding all the Egyptians in England to banish themselves out of the kingdom in sixteen days, under the penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of their goods. But the expence of the voyage prevented in a great measure the execution of this law, and of others more severe ; many thousands of those wretches remained in England, where considerable numbers of their posterity are still wandering from place to place, using the same crafty means and subtilty to deceive and plunder the country people.

About the same time, the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature propagated itself throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented nearly at that period, extremely forwarded the progress of all these improvements ; and we gradually attained that degree of information with regard to commerce, arts, sciences, government, police, and cultivation, which they have ever since preserved. Here, therefore, begins the useful as well as the more interesting part of modern annals.

HENRY VIII. twentieth King from the Conquest.

[Second son of Henry VII., by his queen Elizabeth, of York, born June 28th, 1491, ascended the throne April 21st, 1509; crowned June 24th following; married successively six wives, Catherine of Spain, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, Catherine Parr; died January 28th, 1547; was buried at Windsor, and succeeded by his son Edward VI.]

*Ann. 1509, 1510.*

HENRY ascended the throne in the most favourable circumstances. He had neither wars abroad, nor disturbances at home; his coffers overflowed with money, and his accession spread universally an unfeigned satisfaction. He composed his council of men of eminent abilities and long experience in business. Two very popular proclamations were immediately published; the one confirming the general pardon that had been granted by the late king; the other inviting all who had been injured by the rigorous execution of antiquated penal laws in the late reign, to lay their complaints before commissioners appointed to hear and redress their wrongs. Empson and Dudley, the two detested instruments of the vexatious exactions of the late king, were committed to the Tower, and many of their agents and informers to other prisons. These measures inspired the people with the most sanguine hopes of a mild administration. They had been so long disgusted with the avarice of the late king, that they were rather pleased than alarmed by the lavish disposition of his successor, who dissipated in parties of pleasure, tilts, tournaments, and carousels, exhibited with all the magnificence of the age, the great treasures amassed

by his father. They contemplated with delight, the beauty and vigour of their young monarch, eighteen years old, adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air and spirit in all his demeanour; they admired his dexterity in every manly exercise, his proficiency in literature and music, his favourite pursuits; in short, their prepossession in Henry's favour was such, that even the vices of vehement ardour and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which time and ripeness of age would gradually subdue.

The first important affair which engaged the attention of the council, was the marriage of the king. He had been contracted, in 1503, to Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, and a dispensation for the marriage had been obtained from the pope; but the day on which Henry completed his fourteenth year, he had protested against that contract, and it was now to be decided, whether he should execute it or adhere to his protest. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of England, opposed the marriage as incestuous and contrary to the laws of God, with which the pope could not dispense; but Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, and the great majority of the council, considering the interest of cementing a close alliance with Spain, the large dowry to which Catherine was entitled as princess of Wales, and besides, her known virtue, modesty, and the affection which she bore to the king, advised him to conclude the marriage. It was solemnized June 7th, 1509. A few days after, the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Westminster with extraordinary pomp, and at an immense expence, both to the king and the nobility. The rejoicings on that occasion were hardly over, when Henry sustained a great loss by the death of

his excellent grandmother, the countess of Richmond, whose affectionate and prudent admonitions might have preserved him from many errors, as he always entertained a great regard and reverence for her.

In order to gratify the people with the punishment of the two obnoxious ministers, Empson and Dudley, they were brought to their trial. The jury gave a verdict against them, which was confirmed in the following year by a bill of attainder in parliament, and executed by a warrant from the king.

In the mean time Henry confirmed the treaties entered into by the late king with the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, and Scotland, and declared his resolution to cultivate peace with all these princes, which was confirmed by a new treaty between Henry and Lewis XII. king of France, concluded 23d March, 1510, to continue during their lives. The first parliament in this reign met at Westminster January 21st, 1510. The temporal peers summoned to it were, one duke, one marquis, eight earls, and twenty-six barons. The bishop of Winchester (Fox) deploring bitterly both his lost influence, and the prevailing court-favour of the earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, resolved to introduce to the king a person who he hoped would prove a powerful coadjutor to himself and a formidable rival to the earl. This was the famous Thomas Wolsey, who from the humble station of a butcher's son in Ipswich, reached the highest degree of power and opulence. He captivated the confidence and favour of the young king far beyond the expectations and desires of his protector; for, though Henry was then only in his nineteenth, and Wolsey in his fortieth year, he became, after a few months, his most beloved friend, and the companion of all his pleasures. The first office bestowed on Wolsey was that of king's almoner, to which many benefices and grants were soon after

added. In November 1510 he was admitted a member of the privy council ; and from that time he was really prime minister.

Tranquillity and balance of power seemed now to be more solidly established in Europe than at any other period. England, united in domestic peace, was secured by its treaties and by its own situation, from the invasion of foreigners. The coalition of the several kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, governed with vigour and ability by Ferdinand. Lewis XII. by marrying Anne of Brittany, widow to his predecessor, had completed the union of France with that duchy, which had been the occasion and the theatre of so many wars. Maximilian's authority was established all over the empire ; his grandson, Charles prince of Castile, had already succeeded to the rich dominions of the house of Burgundy, and on account of his youth, the government was entrusted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princess of signal prudence and virtue. The internal force of these several states, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general concord, had not the ambitious and enterprising genius of Pope Julius II. rekindled the flames of war among them. He first caused a league to be formed between himself, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand, the object of which was to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice. He had no sooner humbled the Venetian republic than he aimed at expelling all foreigners from Italy. He at once sought for a ground of quarrel with the king of France, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis XII., and solicited the favour of England by sending Henry a sacred rose perfumed with musk, anointed with chrism. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, and formed a treaty with the Swiss Cantons, who had quitted the alliance of France on account

of some neglects, accompanied with contumelious expressions from Lewis XII., and waited for an opportunity of revenging themselves on that monarch.

*Ann. 1511, 1512.*

After many intrigues, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain agreed that the thunders of the church should be launched against Lewis XII. and his subjects, who impiously dared to disobey the common father of all Christians, while the two monarchs should continue to make the strongest professions of inviolable attachment to that prince till the king of England was engaged in the league, and all the confederates were ready to fall upon him at once. The most painful task for history is that of being obliged to relate such instances of perfidious and cowardly policy. The disgust and abhorrence they cannot fail to excite, were enhanced in this case by the high rank of the contracting parties, and rise to the highest pitch, when we see the *Holy Father*, actuated by the most inordinate and worldly ambition, planning and promoting that pretended holy league, not against Saracens or idolaters, but against a catholic nation, against the king of France, the eldest son of the church, and the most virtuous prince of the age.

Ferdinand communicated to Henry, his son-in-law, the plan of the league, and represented to him how favourable an opportunity this was of recovering the ancient dominions of his crown in France, and of signalizing the beginning of his reign by an enterprize at once so pious, so honourable, and so popular. To please him still further, he informed him that hopes had been given by Julius, that the title of *most christian king*, which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, should, in reward of his services, be transferred to that of England.

While the French monarch repelled the attacks

of his enemies, he attempted to despoil as much as possible the most unrelenting of them, of that sacred character, which rendered him so formidable. He engaged some cardinals, disgusted with the violence of Julius, to desert him; and by their authority a general council was summoned at Pisa to reform the church and check the exorbitancies of the Roman Pontiff. But the signs of contempt which the Pisans showed these cardinals, obliged them to transfer their session to Milan, whither they did not experience much more respectful treatment from the inhabitants, and found it necessary to remove to Lyons.

Hostilities now commenced, and Julius so much neglected his pontifical character, that he acted in person at the siege of Mirandele, visited the trenches, saw some of his attendants killed by his side, and like a young soldier, cheerfully bore all the rigours of winter in pursuit of military glory. Having summoned a council at Latron, he put under an interdict all the places which gave shelter to the schismatical council, excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it, and even pointed his spiritual thunder against the prince who adhered to it; he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them.

Henry, naturally sanguine in his temper, and the more so on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty desire of deserving the reward offered to him, by protecting the pope from the oppression to which he thought he was exposed. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him, he sent a herald to Paris, to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war against the pope; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou,



having fallen in with a French fleet, consisting of thirty-nine sail, August 10th, 1512, a fierce conflict immediately ensued. In the heat of the action the *Regent* of one thousand tons, the largest ship in the English navy, grappled with the French admiral, which taking fire, both ships were immediately involved in flames, and all on board, to the number of seventeen hundred men, perished. Both fleets stood in suspense as spectators of this dreadful engagement, and struck with horror at its issue, they separated as if by mutual consent, without any further fighting.

The war, though it brought no advantage to England, was of great prejudice to France, by obliging Lewis XII. to withdraw his forces from Italy for the defence of his own dominions. The famous Gastor de Foix, his nephew, had terminated his glorious career with the great battle at Ravenna, which, after the most obstinate conflict, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies: he perished the very moment his victory was complete; and Lewis lost in a few weeks all his Italian conquests except some garrisons,

*Ann. 1513.*

Julius II. did not long survive this success, and was succeeded (21st February) by John de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X. who proved one of the most illustrious pontiffs that ever sat on the papal chair. Humane, beneficent, affable, every art found in him a patron, every virtue a friend. He was reproached with too much finesse and artifice, but his greatest fault was undoubtedly that blind ambition which prevented him from perceiving how little it behoved his high character to follow the shameful paths, and adopt the odious schemes of aggrandizement of his unworthy predecessor. By his continu-

ing the same negotiations, he succeeded in detaching the emperor Maximilian from the French interest, and Henry, notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still persuaded to prosecute his warlike preparations against Lewis. He accordingly summoned a new session of parliament, and obtained a poll-tax, imposed at different rates, according to the station and riches of the person to be taxed. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks; every man, valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks. An imposition of two fifteenths and four tenths was also granted to him, and these supplies, joined to his father's treasure, which was not yet entirely dissipated, enabled him to levy a powerful army. The parliament was then prorogued to November 7th, 1513.

The league against France was signed by the plenipotentiaries, April 5th, 1513. By this treaty, the pope engaged to invade Provence or Dauphine, and to fulminate the thunders of the church against Lewis XII. The emperor was to invade France or some other territories belonging to that kingdom, out of Italy; and to enable him to do so, England was to pay him one hundred thousand golden crowns. The king of Spain engaged to invade Bearn, Guyenne, or Languedoc, and the king of England Guyenne, Normandy or Picardy. So shameful was the duplicity of Ferdinand, that he was privately negotiating a truce for one year in his own name, and in the name of his allies, the emperor and the king of England, with Lewis XII. and his allies, the king of Scotland and the duke of Gueldres, at the same time that he was negotiating the above confederacy against France, and both these treaties, so contrary to one another, were concluded and signed by his ministers plenipotentiaries, at different places, almost on the same day.

Before engaging in a continental war, Henry endeavoured to secure the continuance of peace with Scotland, by adjusting amicably all differences with that country. Offers of redress and satisfaction were made, and commissioners appointed on both sides for that purpose, but they could not come to any agreement. Besides the ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland, James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel, by the invitation of Anne Queen of France, whose knight he had, in all tournaments, professed himself, and who summoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himself her true and valorous champion.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, spent the first five months of this year (1513) in making every possible preparation for a vigorous offensive war with France, and defensive war with Scotland. About the middle of May, fourteen thousand of his troops landed at Calais, and soon after invested Terouenne, a strong town in Artois. Henry joined them towards the beginning of July at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, and attended by his favourite Wolsey, now his prime minister, and by many noblemen, impatient to display their courage under the eye of their young monarch. Maximilian, who, as well as the other confederates, had made no preparation for invading France, was not ashamed to enlist in Henry's army at the rate of one hundred crowns a day, and proved an useless expensive soldier and most pernicious counsellor.

The duke of Longueville advanced with an army to the relief of Terouenne; Henry met him at Guinegate, where an action ensued, August 19th, in which the English obtained an easy victory, and as the French cavalry, seized with a panic, used their spurs rather than their swords, this battle was commonly called *the battle of the spurs*. The popu-

lous city of Tournay was soon after invested and surrendered, agreeing to pay fifty thousand crowns immediately, four thousand livres a year for ten years, and to admit an English garrison.

On the same day that Tournay surrendered, Henry received the important news of the death of James IV. who had been slain September 9th in the memorable battle of Flowden Field which began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and raged with uncommon fury and slaughter, till night put an end to the bloody contest, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The English retired a little from the field and rested all night upon their arms. The Scots finding themselves without leaders as almost all had perished, they went off in small parties. When the English approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, which gave them a good title to claim the victory; though, in point of numbers, the loss was nearly equal on both sides; but in the quality and importance of the persons slain it was very different, as the Scots had lost their king and the flower of their nobility.

Henry kept a most magnificent court at Tournay, where he was visited by Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries, and her nephew, Charles Prince of Spain, with many lords and ladies, who were all sumptuously entertained with tournaments and other diversions for fourteen days, at an immense expense. In the mean time, the ministers of the confederate princes were employed in negotiating a new treaty against France, which was signed by Henry at Lisle, October 15th; by which it was stipulated, 1. that as winter was approaching, Henry might retire with his army into England, after leaving a sufficient garrison at Tournay: 2. that the emperor should keep on foot an army of ten thousand men during the winter and spring, for the protection of the Low

Countries and Tournay, and for harassing the frontiers of France, for which Henry should pay him two hundred thousand crowns : 3. that by the 1st of June next, the emperor and the king of England should invade France, each at the head of a powerful army, and neither make peace nor truce but by mutual consent : 4. that the marriage of Charles duke of Burgundy with Henry's sister, the princess Mary, should be solemnized at Calais about the middle of May. In this transaction there was as much sincerity on the side of Henry, as dissimulation and perfidy on the part of his confederate.

The bishop of Tournay was lately dead, and a new bishop had been already elected by the chapter, but as he refused to swear fealty to the conqueror, Henry bestowed that rich see, with the Abbey of St. Martin's in the same city, on his favourite Wolsey ; and in the month of November next, when Henry arrived in England and distributed rewards to several lords and gentlemen who had attended him in France, Wolsey was appointed bishop of Lincoln, and the rich Abbey of St. Albans was given him *in commendam*.

#### *Ann. 1514.*

While Henry was thus promoting the interests and fighting the battles of his perfidious confederates, they violated all their engagements, and did not hesitate to betray and abandon him as soon as they had obtained their own ends. The pope honoured him with the title of Champion of the Church, and sent him, as presents of inestimable value, a consecrated sword and bonnet, accompanied with a letter full of the most fulsome flattery ; but he had already secretly concluded a peace with France, without giving the least hint of his intention to Henry, and he now boldly trampled on the rights of his crown and the

laws of his country by four bulls, dated February 1514, by which he stated that he had reserved the bishopric of Lincoln to his own disposal, bestowed it on Thomas Wolsey, declaring any other nomination or election that had been made by any others through ignorance and presumption (meaning the nomination by the king and election by the chapter) to be null and void. The emperor infringed every stipulation of his late treaty with Henry without the least apology; and Ferdinand, at the same time that he was soliciting his son-in-law to enter into a new confederacy against France, concluded a truce with Lewis XII. for another year.

At these repeated instances of ingratitude, treachery, and contempt, Henry lost all patience; but he fell into a violent rage when he heard that the marriage of his beloved sister Mary, who had been affianced to Charles prince of Spain, was no more thought of, and that Maximilian and Ferdinand had entered into a negociation, in which proposals had been agreed to for the marriage of that same prince with the princess Renée, a daughter of Lewis XII. Such a complication of injuries inspired the king with the highest desire of breaking all connection with those who had imposed on his youth and inexperience, and abused his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, being still prisoner in England, was admitted by Henry to share in his pleasure parties, and took advantage of his present dispositions to expatiate upon the deceitful arts and selfishness of Maximilian and Ferdinand, extolling in the mean time the honour and good faith of his own sovereign, and insinuating how much he would value an intimate friendship and even an alliance with the young king of England, for whom he entertained the highest esteem. When Longueville found that Henry was far from being

displeased at these hints, he informed his master of the probability he discovered of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion, and he received full powers jointly with John de Sylva and Thomas Bohier for negotiating the treaty, and to bind the king of France to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, partly as arrears due on several accounts, and partly as a testimony of his great esteem for that prince. Another commission was given to the same persons to treat of the marriage of Lewis with the princess Mary. As both parties were equally desirous of peace and alliance, all the stipulations were agreed on in five days, and the treaty was signed at London, August 7th, 1514.

During that negotiation Henry was informed that the archbishop of York, his ambassador at Rome, had died, and that the pope, at his request, had promised not to appoint a successor to his see till he knew his majesty's pleasure. The king immediately recommended Wolsey, and in the mean time granted him the custody of the arch-bishopric with all its revenues, which, added to those of the bishoprics of Tournay and Lincoln, the administration of the bishoprics of Worcester, Hereford and Bath, with several rich abbeys and other benefices, raised the fortune of that ambitious prelate nearly as high as that of the king himself. The pope complying with Henry's recommendation, appointed Wolsey arch-bishop of York, *on account of his extraordinary learning, piety, and virtue.*

In consequence of the late treaty, Lewis XII. espoused the princess Mary by his proxy the duke of Longueville, August 13th, after which the princess assumed the title of queen of France. In the beginning of October following; the Duke of Norfolk, with a splendid retinue, conducted her to Abbeville, where she was met by her royal consort,

and their nuptials were celebrated October 9th; but Lewis died in less than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, from which he had deservedly obtained the honourable appellation of the *father of his people*.

Francis I. who had married Lewis's elder daughter, succeeded him on the throne. This young prince had been a great admirer of the charms of the English princess, and even during his predecessor's life-time, had paid her such assiduous court, that some of his friends represented to him, that by indulging this passion he might probably exclude himself from the throne. He thanked them for the hint, and forbore all further addresses. The young dowager married soon after secretly the duke of Suffolk, one of the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman of the age; and as Henry was thus prevented from forming any powerful alliance by means of his sister; Francis interposed his good offices in reconciling him to the marriage, which had been made without waiting for his consent. The queen and her husband returned to England, were well received by Henry, and publicly married May 13th, 1515.

*Ann 1515 1516, 1517.*

A new parliament was assembled February 5th: sir Thomas Neville was chosen by the house of commons for their speaker, and acquitted himself of his functions so much to the satisfaction of the king and both houses that he was made a knight of the garter in full parliament, "an honour," says the Journals (vol. i. p. 20.) "that had not been conferred on any mortal man."

Henry having been obliged to declare war against the Scots, who had made great depredations on the English; and Francis I. having resolved to enforce by



all means in his power the claims of the kings of France on the duchy of Milan ; these young monarchs were equally desirous of a solid peace between the two nations ; therefore the treaty, lately concluded with Lewis XII. was confirmed or renewed almost verbatim April 5th. Wolsey, who had the principal direction of the transaction, took advantage of the opportunity to forward his ambitious views. Having reached the pinnacle of riches and power, he could only rise in dignity, and the rank of cardinal was, at that time, the object of his most ardent wishes. Both the kings of France and England condescended to write in his favour to Rome ; and the pope, who knew Wolsey's absolute sway over the mind of his royal master, readily complied with the demand of their majesties. When the cardinal's hat was brought to Wolsey, he caused the bearer of it to be met at Blackheath, and conducted through London with as much pomp as if the pope himself had made his entry, and his reception of it in Westminster Abbey resembled the coronation of a king. Many of the king's wisest counsellors seeing themselves so much eclipsed and so little regarded, resolved to retire from court. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned his office of chancellor, and the seal was immediately committed to Wolsey, who may be said to have been, during the fourteen succeeding years, the real sovereign, while Henry was little more than the nominal king of England. A strict administration of justice took place during his chancellorship, and none of his predecessors ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper sagacity, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.

The king had retained Tournay for the only purpose of insuring the revenues of the bishopric to his favourite ; but the French bishop elect, Lewis Gailart was making ever since the most strenuous efforts to obtain the possession of his see, and Francis I.

now solicited the pope for a bull in his favour. Wolsey incensed at this information, given him by his spies at Rome, persuaded Henry to violate the treaty he had made with Francis a few months before, and to form a new confederacy against France with Maximilian and Ferdinand, who had so often deceived him. A council was held in the king's presence to take this measure into consideration. The ancient counsellors argued strongly against it as highly imprudent, dishonourable and unjust. The cardinal made a violent speech against Francis's ambition, and maintained that there was a necessity for England to prevent the increase of his power. The counsellors under Wolsey's influence were of the same opinion. Henry declared that he was determined to put a stop to the progress of the French arms in Italy, but that he hoped to do so without an open war, by supplying the emperor with money. An ambassador was sent accordingly to the emperor, furnished with a large sum of money, and bills for a still greater sum on Italian bankers, to engage him to march an army into Italy, to recover Milan from the French and give it up to Francisco Sforza, who engaged to pay Wolsey an annual pension of ten thousand ducats, and Wolsey promised to secure to him the perpetual friendship and protection of the king of England. Maximilian took the bills and money, and after a feeble attempt upon Milan, disbanded his army, giving for his excuse that the Italian bankers had become bankrupts and could not pay their bills.

The hostile plan adopted against Francis I. was not even mentioned in the parliament that met November 12th, the day to which it had been prorogued; therefore there was no pretence to demand a supply: but the king's treasure being much exhausted by his inordinate expences at home, and his remittances into Germany, a bill was brought to

the house of peers for a subsidy to be granted to the king, and being read once, was carried by the lord chancellor to the house of commons, where it probably met with an unfavourable reception, as the parliament was dissolved next day December 22d.

In the month of February 1516, the queen lost her father, Ferdinand king of Spain, and was delivered of a daughter, who was named Mary. Ferdinand was succeeded by his grand-son Charles, already sovereign of all the territories of the house of Burgundy, and heir to the house of Austria, which came soon after into his possession with the empire of Germany. Henry, actuated by his inclination to gratify the resentment of his favourite against Francis I. gave him a commission to negotiate with the plenipotentiaries of the empire and the new king of Spain a league and confederacy in defence of the church, and to restrain the unbridled ambition of certain princes, meaning the king of France. This pretended holy league, of which the pope was declared the head, was concluded at London, October 29th, 1516; but its execution was indefinitely postponed on account of the cardinal having soon after obtained the object he had so much at heart.

*Ann. 1518, 1519.*

The great power of Henry and the influence of cardinal Wolsey in all the councils of England, were now so well established, that the greatest monarchs courted his friendship. The pope revoked the bull he had granted in favour of Lewis Galliard, appointed Wolsey administrator of the bishopric of Tournay, and soon after his general collector in England. The young king of Spain granted him a pension of three thousand pounds a year. Francis

L. in order to outvie his rival, sent the cardinal many curious and valuable presents, accompanied with the most flattering letters, in which he called him *his father and his guardian*, assuring him that *he would regard his advices as oracles, and amply reward his services*: in the mean time, he instructed Villeroi, his resident at the court of England, to treat privately with him about the restitution of Tournay, and an alliance between the two crowns, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with princess Mary, Henry's only child; the promise of an indemnification to the cardinal for the bishopric of Tournay, was one of the principal articles of Villeroi's instruction.

Wolsey, on this occasion, managed with his wonted dexterity the vanity of his royal master. After having put him in good humour by presenting him with some of the most curious gifts of Francis, he succeeded completely in convincing him that he was not bribed by giving him the most minute and apparently the most candid account of all the bribes he had received, boasting that all these attempts to corrupt the servant, were as many certain proofs of a sincere desire of the friendship of the master. Henry, far from being offended at it, was pleased to think that he had chosen so great a minister, who was so much admired and courted by other princes. "The cardinal," said he, "will govern both France and me."

The way being thus prepared for a treaty between France and England, the plenipotentiaries of Francis I. set out with a splendid train of the gayest lords and ladies of France, attended by no fewer than twelve hundred officers, guards and servants. They were introduced to the king at Greenwich, September 23d, and soon after entered upon business with cardinal Wolsey, whom Henry had appointed his only commissioner to treat with them.

Sensible that no success could be expected without the cardinal's favour, the French plenipotentiaries, at the opening of the negociation, presented him with the grant of a pension of twelve thousand livres a year for life, as a compensation for the bishopric of Tournay. As every condition of the intended treaty had been settled beforehand between Wolsey and Villeroy, the plenipotentiaries had little or nothing to do but to sign it, such as it had been prepared. Besides the usual stipulation of perpetual peace and amity between the two kings and their successors, it was agreed, 1st, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed; 2d, that the town and citadel of Tournay should be restored to France for six hundred thousand crowns; 3d, that some neutral place between Calais and Ardres should be appointed, before the last day of July 1519, for a personal interview of the two kings. The pope, the emperor Maximilian, and Charles, king of Spain, were admitted as principals into this treaty; and it was stipulated, that when one of the contracting parties was attacked, the other confederates should first admonish the aggressor to desist, which if he did not within one month, they were to declare themselves his enemies.

Henry was so pleased with the issue of this negociation, that he seemed to be determined to divest himself of all authority to bestow it on his favourite. He gave him power, by several warrants, to make as many denizens as he pleased, to issue *congés d'élire*, royal assents, restitutions of temporalities to all archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, and all other benefices in the gift of the crown, without consulting the king. Francis I. paid also a very flattering compliment to the favourite, by appointing him his commissioner, to settle with those of the king of England, the time, place, and all the circumstances

of the intended interview. Wolsey having received a similar commission from his own master, issued a mandate, by which he regulated in the most authoritative and peremptory manner, all the steps and motions of the two monarchs, their queens, their courts, and attendants of all kinds.

The emperor Maximilian died at that time, January 12th, 1519. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and made respectively the most strenuous efforts to obtain the majority of votes, by lavishing their money and promises among the electors. The conferences for the election opened in June; and on the 28th of that month the king of Spain was unanimously chosen and proclaimed emperor by the name of Charles V. Francis, greatly mortified at this disappointment, was more convinced than ever of the necessity of cultivating the friendship of the king of England; he continued accordingly to flatter the favourite, and paid with great punctuality all the sums due for the restitution of Tournay, and on other accounts. He also desired the favour of Henry to stand godfather to his second son, which was readily complied with. In a word, the two kings, to express their mutual eagerness for their interview, which had been postponed to the next year on account of the death of Maximilian, agreed not to shave their beards till they had seen one another. The new emperor, alarmed at this intelligence, endeavoured to prevent, by his ambassador, the meeting of Henry with Francis; but their engagements to it, he was told, were too strong and too public to be violated. In the mean time he was assured that nothing hostile to him was intended, and that the king would have no objection to an interview with him on a proper occasion.

*Ann. 1520.*

Charles, still uneasy about the impending interview of the kings of France and England, resolved to pay a visit to Henry in his passage from Spain to Germany; and did not neglect to secure a favourable reception, by transmitting to Wolsey a solemn promise, that he would engage the pope to grant him the administration of the bishopric of Badajos, in Castile, worth five thousand ducats a year, and a pension of two thousand ducats out of the bishopric of Placentia; and this promise was punctually performed.

The emperor arrived off Dover, May 26th. As soon as this news reached Henry, he sent the cardinal to receive him in the castle of Dover, where he went to see him next morning. Besides the marks of regard and friendship which Charles gave to Henry, he strove by flattery, promises, and presents to gain on the vanity, ambition, and avarice of the cardinal, and persuaded him that he could depend on his interest for obtaining the papacy; and as that was the only point of elevation beyond his present greatness, he had fixed his ambitious eyes on it, though the reigning pope, Leo X. was younger than him. In hopes of reaching this dignity through the powerful interference of the emperor, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests.

After conferring some time on business at Dover, Henry conducted the emperor to Canterbury, where he introduced him to the queen. Henry spent two days thither in banqueting and diversions; and the day of his departure, May 30th, Henry went over to Calais, with his queen and the whole court. After having spent there three days, to complete his preparations for the approaching interview, he proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, equally attended by his whole court, came

to Ardres, a few miles distant, and the two monarchs met for the first time in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale. The nobility of both nations here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, that the place of interview was ever since named *the field of the cloth of gold*.

The two monarchs, after saluting one another in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent richly ornamented, which had been erected on purpose, and held a secret conference together. Henry, proposing some amendments on the articles of their former alliance, began to read the treaty, and stopped a moment at these first words, *I, Henry, king*; he then subjoined only the words, *of England*, without adding *France*, the usual style of the English monarchs. Francis expressed by a smile that he had remarked the delicacy of this courtesy, and took soon after an opportunity of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, too full of honour himself to be capable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which attended his interviews with the English monarch, and to break off this tedious ceremonial, grounded on so many dishonourable implications, he one day took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes, calling aloud to the surprised guards, *You are all my prisoners: carry me to your master*. Henry was no less astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have shewed me the full confidence I may place in you; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth fifteen thousand *angels*, (nearly eight thousand six hundred pounds of the present money,) and putting it around Francis's, begged him



to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar. The king went next day to Ardres without guards, and confidence being thus fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of their time entirely in festivals and tournaments. As they were both the most comely personages of their age, and the most expert in every military exercise, they carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes, and many renowned knights were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. Henry feasted the French monarch in a spacious house of wood and canvass, which had been framed in London, and erected for the purpose. Over its great gateway was the figure of an English archer, armed with a bow and arrows, and this motto embroidered below it,—*cui adhæreo præest ; he prevails whom I favour* ; alluding to his own situation as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe.

Henry and his court returned to Calais June 25th, and set out a fortnight after with a splendid retinue to pay a visit to the emperor at Gravelines. Charles received him with great demonstrations of cordiality and gratitude, and gave orders to entertain all the English in the most friendly and hospitable manner, to obliterate any impressions that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Three days were spent thither in a continual round of banqueting, balls, masquerades, and other diversions, during which Charles endeavoured with so much art and assiduity to gain the favour of Wolsey, and consequently of Henry, that he succeeded, and their professions of inviolable

friendship to his rival were nearly forgotten. On the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, after having squandered in a short time immense sums of money to no purpose.

*Ann. 1521.*

The enormous expence of Henry's late journey to France had been at home an occasion for the murmurs of the people and for the jealousy of the nobles. Among these Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the son of him who lost his life in the reign of Richard III., was the foremost to complain, and treat the cardinal's pride and profusion with just contempt. Wolsey was apprised of it by his informers, and wanted only to gratify his revenge, an opportunity which was soon after offered by the indiscretion of Stafford; that nobleman, full of levity and rash projects, was also insatuated with judicial astrology, and entertained a commerce with the impostor Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England, though he had no other claim to it than that of being descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. He had been so unguarded as to let fall some expressions, implying that he thought himself best entitled to the crown in case the king should die without issue. To promote his views he had endeavoured to gain popularity by railing at the king's ministers, and reprobating every measure of government; he had laboured to increase the number of his retainers, and to corrupt the king's servants by bribes. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life. He was brought to a trial, and the duke of Norfolk, whose son had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted

of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons, and they unanimously found Buckingham guilty of high treason. Their verdict was soon after carried into execution. The office of constable, which Buckingham inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

A war was now become unavoidable between Charles V. and Francis I., on account of the latter having encouraged Henry d'Albret, the expelled king of Navarre, to raise a body of troops in France for the recovery of his kingdom, which Charles was bound by treaty to restore, but refused. He had also permitted the earl of Fleuranges to raise a small army for the assistance of his father the prince of Sedan, who had been injured by the emperor, and had sent him a defiance. Henry being requested by Charles to interpose according to the treaty of 1518, sent an ambassador to admonish Francis to desist from giving aid to the emperor's enemies. Francis complied with this admonition, and commanded Fleuranges to disband his troops. But Charles sent a powerful army to take vengeance, as he pretended, on the prince of Sedan, which obliged Francis to arm, and the war commenced without any formal declaration, leaving it difficult to determine who had been the aggressor. It was kindled also in Italy between these two princes by the duplicity or rather treachery of the pope, who secretly concluded at once a treaty with Francis, for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples from the emperor, and another with the emperor for the conquest of the dukedom of Milan from the French, and immediately commenced a war for that purpose. The mediation of Henry offered at this juncture to these powerful rivals being accepted, he constituted Wolsey his plenipotentiary, with the most ample powers. The negotiations were appointed to be at Calais.

Before setting out for this important mission, Wolsey received two very remarkable bulls. His dignity of legate *à latere*, had been continued to him by several bulls, each granting it for two years. That which he received at this time for the same purpose, included the extraordinary powers of making fifty counts palatines, fifty knights, fifty chaplains, and fifty notaries ; of legitimating bastards, and conferring the degree of doctor in divinity, law, and medicine. By another bull authority was given him to grant licence to such as he thought proper to read the works of that pestilent heretic Martin Luther, especially to those who desired to read them with a design to write against them. This alluded to a refutation which the king himself was now writing, as will be hereafter mentioned. The Lutheranism has made too much noise in the world, and too many proselites, not to make it necessary to give here a concise account of the origin and progress, as well as of the principal tenets of that heresy.

The pope, Leo X., having exhausted his treasury, was obliged to employ every scheme which might produce the money he wanted to support his projects and liberalities. The sale of indulgences was suggested to him as having been often very productive in the Christian world. There is no doubt that Leo was fully conscious how degrading it was for a pontiff of his high character and genius to promote such vile and ridiculous practices ; but as no other means were offered to procure him money, he published the sale of a general indulgence in 1517. The several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition, and who, to enhance the revenue, farmed it out to several contractors. That of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, had been farmed out to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who expecting no extraordinary sue-

cess from the ordinary methods of collection, did not apply to the Austin friars, who had been usually employed in Saxony to preach and sell the indulgences, and had derived from this trust both consideration and profit. Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wertemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began, in 1518, to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences, and being provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences. Thence he was carried by the heat of dispute to question the authority of the pope. Still, as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he pretended to have discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome, and finding his opinion greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, and conferences, which increased daily the number of his disciples. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him against the papal jurisdiction; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model; many sovereigns in Germany, and the Imperial diet itself, shewed a favourable disposition towards it.

The rumour of these innovations soon reached England, and as the principles of Luther very little differed from those of Wickliffe, the new doctrines gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks. But Henry, who professed a strict attachment to the court of Rome, had, besides, a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: he therefore opposed to the Lutheran tenets all the influence which his extensive and almost arbitrary authority conferred upon him. He even wrote a whole book in Latin against Luther, with this title: *De septem sacramentis, contra Martinum Lutherum*

*heresiarchon, per illustrissimum principem Henricum VIII., &c.* A copy of this book, beautifully written and elegantly bound, was presented by the king's ambassador at Rome to the pope in full consistory, and received with great testimony of gratitude and admiration. His holiness, to encourage this powerful champion in his cause, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation still retained by the kings of England. This bull, subscribed by twenty-seven cardinals, was accompanied by a letter from the pope, which exhibits a disgusting specimen of the grossest flattery.

Wolsey and the ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France met at Calais in the beginning of August, and the conferences for a treaty of peace were held in his presence as mediator. The emperor, who, relying on the assistance of Henry, did not really wish for peace, had directed his ambassador to make demands, at which the French plenipotentiaries were greatly provoked; the cardinal also affected to be displeased at them, and said with much seeming candour, that he would take a journey to Bruges where the emperor then resided, as he hoped that in a personal conference with his majesty, he should prevail upon him to accept of more moderate terms. The French plenipotentiaries strongly remonstrated against the deviation from the strict impartiality which it became a mediator to observe, and threatened to retire. But the Cardinal told them, that if they departed before his return from Bruges he would declare them the aggressors in the war, and enemies to the king of England. They were thus constrained to await his return.

The emperor met Wolsey a mile out of Bruges, where he conducted him in a kind of triumph, with the most flattering marks of respect. He continued thirteen days at the imperial court, and had with the emperor and his ministers frequent conferences, the

object of which, far from being a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France, was a treaty of confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, against Francis I. The preliminaries were then settled to be ratified within three months, and kept a profound secret during the interval.

This treacherous scheme being concluded, the cardinal repaired to Calais, and resumed the conferences for peace, which he well knew would be unsuccessful. That something, however, might be done at this famous congress, Wolsey produced a preliminary treaty prepared by himself, to which the plenipotentiaries of both the belligerent powers consented. By this treaty it was stipulated, 1. That no disturbance should be given to any fishermen. 2. That no ships of any nation should be taken near the coasts, or in the bays, ports, and rivers of England. 3. That satisfaction should be given for any English ships that had been taken. 4. That couriers should be permitted to pass unmolested between the Imperial and French courts and Calais. 5. That when the congress broke up, all the members of it, with their retinues, should be permitted to return home in safety. Wolsey having detained the French plenipotentiaries at Calais as long as he could, the congress at last broke up, after it had continued more than three months to very little purpose.

A short time after, having received the king's book against Luther, Leo X. died, December 2d, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the 9th of his pontificate. He was, to the great disappointment of Wolsey, succeeded by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles.

*Ann. 1522.*

The emperor, who knew and dreaded the haughty and vindictive character of Wolsey, was solicitous to repair the breach made to their friendship by the election of Adrian. He paid accordingly another visit to England, and besides flattering the vanity of the king and his minister, he renewed to the latter all the promises he had made him of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. As Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a speedy vacancy, Wolsey dissembled his resentment. The emperor agreed to indemnify both the king and the cardinal for the revenue which they would lose by a breach with France, and granted to the latter an additional pension of nine thousand crowns of gold of the sun during his life. Charles, the more to ingratiate himself with the English nation, gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of the Imperial navy, and he himself was installed knight of the garter. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked for Spain. The two monarchs had spent their time in feasting, hunting, and other diversions, while their ministers were framing the articles that had been agreed upon at Bruges into a definitive treaty, which was signed and ratified June 19th. By the first six articles all the conditions of the emperor's marriage with the princess Mary were settled, both parties binding themselves not to prevent its celebration under a penalty of four hundred thousand crowns. The other fifteen articles fixed the plan of the military operations in the war against France. By the thirteenth, it was stipulated, *that both princes appearing before the Cardinal of York as judge, in what place he shall choose, shall voluntarily submit to his jurisdiction as legate; and confessing themselves to be bound to ob-*



*serve this treaty, shall require the legate to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them, if they violate the articles thereof*; a remarkable stipulation, which gives an exact idea of the power and influence of the cardinal at that time.

Though war had not been declared, hostilities had already begun between France and England. The English merchants complained loudly that many of their ships had been taken by the French. The English had made reprisals, and Henry had commanded all the French and Scots in London to be apprehended and imprisoned. He had also instructed his ambassador in France to demand satisfaction for all the injuries that had been done to his subjects, and to propose a truce for two years between Francis and the emperor; and in case of a refusal, to denounce war by a herald who had been sent for that purpose. Such was the state of affairs when the emperor arrived in England; and before he went over to Spain the war had been denounced by the English ambassador, according to his instructions.

The earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England and Spain, who had sailed with thirty ships ten days before the emperor, to scour the channel, and secure a free passage to his majesty, having performed that service, sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. After this he made several descents upon the coasts, collected much booty, and brought his fleet back to England July 21st.

Henry's interviews and splendid entertainments with the emperor and the king of France, had almost emptied his treasury. He and his favourite did not choose, however, to apply to the only regular means in England of supplying the wants of government, but had recourse to loans and benevolences, expedients as unpopular as illegal, and seldom effectual. With the sums thus collected two armies were

raised, one against the Scots and the other against the French. The latter, composed of sixteen thousand men, landed at Calais about the middle of August, and being soon after joined by a body of German and Spanish troops, entered Picardy, desolated the open country, plundering or burning the houses of the peasants, and the castles of the noblesse. The only military operation in which they engaged was the siege of Hesdin, which Surrey was obliged to raise and put his troops into winter quarters about the end of October. He then returned to England, where he was promoted to the office of lord high treasurer, on the resignation of his father, the duke of Norfolk. Thus he was the first English subject entrusted at the same time with the custody of the treasures, and the command of the forces of the kingdom by sea and by land.

The allies were more successful in Italy. Lautree, who commanded the French, lost near Milan a great battle, which was followed by the loss of Genoa; the castle of Cremona was the only fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

*Ann. 1523.*

The money raised by the late loans and benevolences being quite insufficient to support the war against France and Scotland, into which the cardinal had wantonly plunged his country, he was reduced to the necessity of advising the king to call a parliament, which met at the Black Friars April 16th. The bishop of London, instead of the cardinal, opened the session with a speech, in which he praised the king, who was present, in the most flattering strains, and told the two houses that they were called to reform the imperfections of the common law, to correct erroneous judgments, and to make good statutes; but he said not one word of a supply, though it was in reality the only reason of their being called. Sir Thomas

More was chosen speaker of the house of commons, and in his speech to the king, was more lavish of flattery than the bishop had been.

The demand of a supply was soon after introduced in a very preposterous manner. The cardinal proposed to make it in person in the house of commons, which occasioned a long debate in that house, whether he should be admitted or not, and in what manner. At length the speaker persuaded the house to admit him with all his train and pomp. He entered accordingly in great state, attended by a train of prelates and noblemen, and after a long harangue against the king of France and the regent of Scotland, he declared that the expences of the war against them had been calculated, and amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, which he desired them to raise by granting the king a fifth of all rents and moveables, to be paid in four years. When he had finished this harangue a profound silence ensued, which offended him not a little, and for which the speaker found no other apology than to say, *that they were abashed at the sight of so noble a personage, which was enough to amaze the wisest and most learned men of the kingdom.* The cardinal then retired very much displeased, and a warm debate immediately took place about the subsidy. The courtiers advanced many plausible arguments to induce the house to comply with the demand, but without success.

The king was enraged at this opposition; it is even reported, that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a considerable influence on the house, and he being introduced to Henry, was addressed by his majesty in these words,—“*Ho! Man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?*”—and then, laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him,—“*Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours*

*shall be off."* This cavalier manner of Henry succeeded, for next day the bill passed. (*Collins's British Peerage, Grove's Life of Wolsey.*)

The cardinal, anxious about the issue of this affair, went to the house of commons a second time, to reason, as he said, with those who opposed the king's demands. The speaker told him, that they would hear his grace with great humility, but, by the rules of the house, they could only reason among themselves. The cardinal then made another long speech, to prove that the kingdom was so rich and flourishing, that the demanded subsidy might be easily raised, and then retired. This speech rather irritated than convinced the opposition. The speaker, however, by the most earnest entreaties, prevailed on the house to pass the bill with some slight amendments. Henry and his minister were so much disgusted at the opposition they had met with on this occasion, that no parliament was called for seven years, the same interval which had elapsed between the two last sessions.

The clergy were exempted from the above subsidy, because they had already assessed themselves in a convocation at a much higher rate.

Wolsey, still continuing in high favour, and receiving from his master frequent additions of power and riches, experienced this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope Adrian died, and Julio de Medicis was elected in his place by the concurrence of the imperial party, and took the name of Clement VII. The cardinal highly resented this injury, which could not leave him the least doubt of the insincerity of the emperor, and how little he was to depend on his promises. He began thenceforth to estrange himself from Charles's interests, and to pave the way for a reconciliation between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he carefully concealed his disgust, and after congratu-

lating the new pope on his promotion, he applied for a continuation of the legantine powers, which the two former popes had conferred on him. Clement, aware of the importance of ingratiating himself with the minister, granted him a commission for life; and by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. The first use Wolsey made of it, was to erect two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity. He sought all over Europe for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges; and provided for their endowments by suppressing some smaller monasteries, the monks of which were distributed into other convents.

Henry, desiring that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy till the end of August, when the English army, commanded by the duke of Suffolk, advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, till the duke of Vendome, hastening with some forces to meet them, they thought it prudent to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned, and the English and Flemings retired into their respective countries without effecting any thing.

*Ann. 1524.*

The two late invasions of Picardy had been so expensive and unsuccessful, that nothing of that kind was attempted this year; and the whole campaign in those parts exhibited only a few skirmishes between the garrisons in the English pale, and those on the frontiers of France. The military operations in Italy and the south of France, were more important. The Spanish army invested Fontarabia, which surrendered through the treachery of the governor,

after one month's siege, when the fortifications were entire, and the garrison in want of nothing. Charles, duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood, great chamberlain and constable of France, who had revolted against Francis, and joined the imperial army, proposed to invade Provence this year. The emperor and the king of England approved this plan, and engaged both to pay the duke's army during the campaign, and to invade at the same time Languedoc and Picardy. The duke of Bourbon entered Provence with his army, July 2d, and met with little or no opposition in his way to Marseilles, which he besieged. But neither the emperor nor the king of England invaded France, which permitted Francis to collect all his forces against the duke of Bourbon, who was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with great precipitation into Italy.

The inaction of the emperor, during this campaign, may be ascribed to his want of money; but it is evident from Henry's neglecting to invade Picardy, according to his engagement, that his animosity against Francis and his attachment to the emperor began to abate; which is further evinced from his demanding immediate payment of the money Charles had borrowed when in England, and of the great sums due by the treaty of Windsor, at a time when he knew he could not pay them. It is more than probable that this change in Henry's disposition, was principally owing to the resentment and artful insinuations of Wolsey. But whatever was the cause of this change, the effects of it were too conspicuous to escape the notice either of Charles or Francis. The latter derived from them great hopes of a reconciliation with Henry; and to promote it, sent to London a private agent, who was well received by the cardinal, with whom he had several secret interviews. The pope, being informed

of it by his resident, hastened to conclude a secret treaty of peace with the king of France.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in safety, the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt they had made for invading his kingdom, and would have preserved himself and his subjects from many dreadful calamities, had he given up his favourite plan against Italy. But finding himself at the head of a gallant army, he could not resist the inclination of undertaking the recovery of the duchy of Milan, on which he had set his heart. Having appointed his mother regent of the kingdom, he set out at the head of his army, and proceeded with so much diligence, that a column of his troops entered Milan, at one gate, at the same time that the duke of Bourbon entered it at another. The duke having reinforced the garrison, retired to Lodi with the shattered remains of his army. If Francis had pursued them, they must either have surrendered or evacuated the country, and the Milanese would have been conquered almost without bloodshed. But his favourite *Bonivet* advised the siege of Pavia, which was formed in November, and pushed with great vigour; on finding, however, a more obstinate resistance than he expected, he converted the siege into a blockade about the end of this year.

*Anno 1525.*

In the beginning of this year, Francis had the imprudence of sending out, from the blockade of Pavia, two large detachments of nearly six thousand men each, one to invade Naples, and the other to attempt the recovery of Genoa. His army was further weakened by the unexpected departure of six thousand Grisons into their own country, and by some other accidents. This circumstance revived

the courage of his enemies ; they exerted themselves with great activity in collecting troops from all quarters. The duke of Bourbon, by pawning his jewels, found means to levy twelve thousand Landsquenets, in Germany, and conducted them into Italy. When they thought themselves strong enough to take the field, they approached the French camp before Pavia, February 7th, with the view of throwing a supply of men and provisions into that place, and to hazard a battle, rather than suffer it to be taken before their faces. In the mean time, the best commanders of the French army, conscious of the great inferiority of their forces, earnestly entreated the king to raise the siege, and retire to Milan ; but, a retreat was a manœuvre, which the impetuous courage and intrepidity of Francis did seldom allow him to consider, and still less to adopt. Admiral Bonivet, knowing the king's inclination, insisted on continuing the siege, which was resolved.

Very early in the morning of February 24th, the imperial army assaulted the French camp, forced their lines, and obtained one of the most complete victories recorded in history. Francis, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy. It was after this disastrous day, that Francis wrote to his mother that famous letter containing only these few words ; *Madam, all is lost, except our honour.*

It is curious to remark, that both the emperor and Henry affected, respectively, in this circumstance, a show of sentiments so contrary to those they really felt, that one would say that they had changed parts with one another. Charles, though inwardly transported with the most lively joy, on an event so ad-



vantageous and unexpected, perused the dispatches with the most perfect composure, lamented the hard fate of his fallen rival, and moralized on the fragility of human power and greatness. Henry, whose wishes were evidently in favour of Francis, on account of the disgusts which had lately taken place between Charles and himself, and still more between Charles and Wolsey, was seemingly overjoyed on receiving this intelligence; he ordered public rejoicings in London and other cities, and rode in great state to St. Paul's, where the cardinal said mass, assisted by eleven bishops; after which, *Te Deum* was sung. Such dissimulation and hypocrisy, though recommended by deep politicians, and their momentary *cui bono*, though highly valued by the disciples of Machiavel, cannot be considered, in an impartial history, but as a shameful degradation of royal dignity.

It was too soon evident, that Charles felt nothing of that compassion which he had expressed for the great calamity which had befallen the unfortunate Francis. And, far from supporting the appearance of moderation which he had at first assumed, he immediately changed his usual style to Henry, and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*; he dictated his letters to a secretary, and subscribed himself *Charles*.

As to Henry, upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her, and besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would consent to the dismembering of any province from the monarchy, for her son's ransom. He, however, continued to dissemble with Charles, and put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise, by dispatching Tonstal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals of a powerful inva-

sion of France. He required that the emperor should immediately enter Guyenne, at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he renewed his demand for the payment of the large sums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit in London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands, but he wanted an explicit refusal, as a plausible pretext for breaking with him.

Tonstal, on his arrival at Madrid, informed his master, that Charles, on his part, urged several complaints against England; that, instead of expressing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece, Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, intending to reap alone all the advantages of his victory at Pavia. Soon after receiving this intelligence, Henry concluded his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions. The regent, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for two millions of crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns; after which, Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under pretence of arrears due to him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

Henry, foreseeing that this treaty might involve him in a war with the emperor, wanted to fill his treasury, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. Commissioners were accordingly appointed in each county, to levy the sixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth of those of the clergy. Alarmed at the universal resistance

opposed to these commissioners, the king issued a proclamation, recalling them immediately, and declaring that he would have nothing from his loving subjects, but what they chose to give him as a free gift. New commissioners were then appointed to collect a benevolence ; but they met with as violent an opposition, which determined the king to recall them ; and the general indignation they had excited, fell upon the cardinal, who, it was well known, had the chief direction of this affair.

Henry, in compliance with his treaty with the regent of France, wrote a letter to the emperor with his own hand, entreating him to grant Francis his liberty on moderate and equitable terms. But little or no regard was paid to this application. The unfortunate Francis had now remained many months in prison ; first in the strong castle of Pisighitonne, near Cremona, and afterwards in the castle of Madrid. Though he panted for liberty, the conditions on which it was offered were such that he could not accept without disgrace and ruin. Almost despairing of his deliverance, and irritated beyond measure at the severity with which he was confined, the agitation of his spirits impaired his health, and threw him into a fever which threatened his life. The emperor, who had not deigned to pay him the compliment of a single visit, was alarmed at this intelligence, visited his royal prisoner several times, spoke to him in the most soothing and affectionate manner, promising him a speedy deliverance on reasonable terms. But when he had recovered his health, he found that his confinement was as strict as ever, and all the pleasing prospects of being restored to liberty vanished. At last, however, Charles, overpowered by his cares, perplexities and fears, resolved to restore Francis to his liberty on the hardest conditions he could extort. They were such, indeed, that no reader of humanity can peruse, with-

out execrating the grasping unprincely spirit of Charles, who could demand them, and pitying the weakness and distress of Francis, who could grant them. For the greater security of the performance of this atrocious deed, Francis, at the moment he should be set at liberty, was to deliver to the emperor his two eldest sons as hostages. These princes were immediately sent to the place appointed for their exchange with Francis, and all the regulations for it being settled, it took place in a ship, moored in the middle of the river Bidassoa, March 16th, 1526, and was executed with so much rapidity that the king had not an opportunity of embracing his children. In the course of this year, Wolsey gave his palace of Hampton-court to the king, and built Whitehall.

*Ann. 1526.*

As soon as Francis landed in his own territories he rode full speed to Bayonne, and there wrote a letter to Henry to inform him of his deliverance, which he ascribed to his friendly and generous interposition, sending him at the same time his bond for the two millions stipulated in the treaty with the regent. This letter was hardly written when the two Spanish ambassadors, who attended Francis, were introduced, and pressed him to ratify the treaty signed at Madrid, January 14th, agreeable to an article of that treaty; but he refused to do it, under colour that he could contract no new engagements without the advice of his council and the consent of his subjects: he told them that he would immediately call the deputies of Burgundy to meet at Cognac, and desired them to attend there to receive his final answer. These deputies met at that place in June, and being introduced to the king in presence of the Spanish ambassadors, they declared with one voice,

that the king had no right to dismember the monarchy, by making a cession of Burgundy, to which they never would give their consent, without which it could not be done. The Spanish ambassadors then insisted, that since the king would not or could not surrender Burgundy, he should, as he had solemnly sworn to do, return to his prison in Spain. No direct answer was returned to this requisition; but a treaty, which had been concluded with great secrecy between the Pope, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the king of France, and to which the king of England was to be invited to accede as protector of the league, was published in presence of the Spanish ambassadors. This amounting to a declaration of war, they demanded passports and returned to Spain.

Though this league was evidently formed against the emperor, it was agreed by one of the articles, that he should be admitted into it as a party on condition that he approved of the arrangement stipulated therein respecting Italy, that he would desist from his demand of Burgundy, and consent to restore the children of France for a reasonable ransom.

Francis, conscious that his conduct in this circumstance needed an apology, sent a vindication of it to all the courts in Europe. It was drawn with great art and eloquence by chancellor Duprat, and terminated by declaring that Francis was willing to give a large sum of money in lieu of Burgundy and for the recovery of his children. To this apology the emperor published a severe and passionate answer, and both princes prepared for supporting their arguments by the *ultima ratio regum*.

Meanwhile the two monarchs of France and England concluded a treaty of mutual obligation, August 8th, in which Francis engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for the recovery of his sons, without including the king of England,

and securing the payment of his debt; and Henry engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for the payment of his debt, without the sanction of the king of France, and procuring the deliverance of his sons for a ransom of one million of crowns of gold.

*Ann. 1527.*

The duke of Bourbon having got possession of the whole Milanese of which the emperor had intended to grant him the investiture, found himself at the head of a formidable army, which he had no means to support, as Charles, destitute as usual of money, could not remit any pay to the troops. In order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out among the soldiers, and which their affection alone for the duke had hitherto restrained, he was obliged to lead them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. Early in the morning, May 6th, the army approached the walls under the cover of a thick fog. Bourbon was killed as he was planting a scaling ladder; but his soldiers rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with fury, and entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance. The unrestrained massacre and pillage which continued for several days, were the least calamities to which the unhappy Romans were exposed. The pope and cardinals fled to the castle of St. Ange, but were soon reduced to the necessity of capitulating on the hardest terms. The pope engaged to surrender all the places of strength in his dominions, to pay four hundred thousand ducats to the besieging army, and to remain a prisoner till all this was performed, and the emperor's pleasure was known.

The emperor with his usual hypocrisy affected the greatest surprise and sorrow on the occasion : he put himself and all his court into the deepest mourning, forbade the intended rejoicings for the birth of his son, and commanded prayers in all the churches of Spain for the deliverance of his holiness, which he might have effected immediately with a single word.

A few days before the catastrophe at Rome, Henry and Francis had concluded a treaty, April 30th, in which they had agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry. In case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him ; and it was agreed that this war should be prosecuted in the Low Countries. But on receiving intelligence of Bourbon's enterprise, the monarchs determined by a new treaty to carry the war into Italy for restoring the pope to liberty. Wolsey himself crossed the sea to concert personally with Francis measures for that purpose. Francis made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and it was here stipulated that the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son, should espouse the princess Mary of England ; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it ; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. This determination raised Wolsey to the zenith of his greatness by investing him with all the power of the papacy. Having thus obtained the authority, though not the name of pope, he ruled the church with the most despotic sway, and encroached on the most undisputed rights of the other bishops as well as of the laity. He established in his own house, a court for

all testamentary matters, which almost annihilated both the business and the emolument of the prerogative court of the archbishop of Canterbury.

The more to cement the union between Henry and Francis, a new treaty was concluded at London, September 18th, in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France, and as a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. This cordial union did not better dispose the emperor to agree with the terms insisted on by the allies. He saw plainly that they were not proposed from any expectation that they would be accepted, but only to procure a pretence for declaring war against him if they were rejected. He replied therefore with great calmness to the plenipotentiaries, that the matter was of a great importance, that he would deliberate upon it with his council, and then return an answer. In a second audience, he acquainted them, that he had resolved to communicate his sentiments on their demands to his dear uncle by his ambassador at London, and begged them to wait with patience till he got a return from thence, and then they should receive his final answer. By this means he prevented an immediate declaration of war, for which he was not prepared.

In the mean time, Charles, sensible that the captivity of the pope indisposed the whole Christendom, and furnished the kings of France and England with a plausible pretence of declaring war against him, determined to set him at liberty, and sent orders to his minister at Rome to extort from his holiness on that occasion as much money and as advantageous conditions as possible. Three hundred and fifty



thousand crowns, to be paid, one hundred thousand immediately, another one hundred thousand in a fortnight, and one hundred and fifty thousand in three months; a grant to the emperor of a crusado in all the pope's dominions; the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Spain; certain cardinals as hostages; and certain strong towns as a security for the performance of the treaty, were the conditions proposed to, and accepted by, the unfortunate Clement. He paid the first moiety of the money, delivered the hostages and towns, and was to have been set at liberty December 10th, but dreading that he would be detained on some pretence or other, he made his escape in disguise the evening before, and took shelter in Orvieto. From thence he immediately wrote to the king and to cardinal Wolsey, acknowledging that he owed his liberty to their powerful interposition, expressing the most lively gratitude, and imploring the continuance of their protection. Henry considered this circumstance as the most favourable that could occur, to bring to execution the secret resolution he had formed four years ago, to procure a divorce, if possible, from his queen, Catherine of Spain, the emperor's aunt.

There had never been any doubt that Henry's marriage with his brother's widow was incestuous, and forinally forbidden as such by the prohibitions contained in Leviticus. The only difficulty was to decide if such an illegality could be covered or not by a dispensation from the pope, a difficulty which occurred again on the question of the intended divorce, the consequences of which have been too important not to state its principal circumstances with as much accuracy as possible.

Henry VII., who, prompted by ambitious motives, had promoted the contract of this uncommon marriage, was so conscious of its illegality that he persuaded his son to protest against it on the very

day he was fourteen years of age ; and on his death-bed he charged him with great earnestness never to celebrate that marriage. When the question was debated in council after the death of Henry VII., Warham, the learned archbishop of Canterbury, concurred loudly in the same opinion, and supported it by unanswerable arguments. Though Henry's amorous disposition, the persuasion of his counsellors, and the charms of the princess, made him disregard the admonitions of his dying father, and the strong declarations of the primate, they had undoubtedly made upon his mind an impression which could not be quite forgotten, and would be easily revived. As long as the queen, who was six years older than him, retained her beauty, continued to bear children, and gave him hopes of a son to succeed him on the throne, he probably did not mind his scruples. But when her beauty faded, infirmities succeeded, and all hopes of issue vanished, he became uneasy, his doubts about the legality of his marriage grew stronger, the anxiety of leaving a disputable succession increased, and he began to consider a divorce as the only remedy to his perplexity. This change happened in the year 1524, as it is proved by one of his letters to Simon Grinius, that he began at that period to abstain from all conjugal intercourse with the queen from scruples which he then entertained about the legality of his marriage. He was confirmed in this opinion by his favourite Wolsey, his confessor Langland, bishop of Lincoln, and many other men of learning.

Henry continued however to treat the queen with the greatest regard, and to keep his intention of suing for a divorce as secret as possible. But his resolution being now definitively settled, and his plan of proceeding determined on, he began to disclose his designs : he even endeavoured to persuade the queen to consent to a divorce. After some fruitless

attempts for that purpose, the king's secretary was sent to Rome to make application to the pope. When he arrived there the pope was still a prisoner, but by bribing some of his guards the secretary found means to communicate the business, and the king's requisition to his holiness, and received a most favourable answer. The pope professed the most lively gratitude to the king for all his former favours, and declared that as soon as he was restored to liberty he would grant him every thing ; but that he could do nothing while he was a prisoner that would be deemed legal.

As soon as the pope made his escape, the secretary and the king's agent at Rome flew to Orvieto. They found his holiness still in great terror of the imperial army ; and he further informed them, that while he was in prison, he had been charged in the emperor's name, to take no steps in their king's divorce till he had first communicated it to the imperial ministers at Rome. The secretary had brought with him a copy of the following demands, which he most earnestly entreated his holiness to grant.

1. A commission to two cardinals for hearing and determining the cause in England, whereof cardinal Wolsey to be one.

2. A decretal, wherein the pope should pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between Prince Arthur and Catherine.

3. A dispensation for the king to marry another.

4. A pollicitation that the pope would not revoke any of these acts.

After several audiences the secretary and the king's agent succeeded only in obtaining the first and third demands, but considerably changed from the draughts they had presented.

At this juncture, Henry being convinced that his divorce from the queen would soon take place, he began to look round him for another lady to supply

her place. Wolsey, desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, recommended Margaret duchess dowager of Alençon, sister to that monarch. But the fair and unfortunate Anne Boleyn, who had lately appeared at court, on her being appointed maid of honour to the queen, having frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. She was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, by a sister of the duke of Norfolk, and nearly related to many of the greatest families in England. She had been carried over to Paris in her ninth year by the king's sister, who married Lewis XII. On the return of that princess to England after the death of Lewis, Anne was retained by the queen Claude, the first consort to Francis I.; and after the death of that queen she lived with the duchess of Alençon till she was brought into England by her father.

*Ann. 1528.*

When the pope's commission and dispensation above mentioned were brought into England, they were found so defective that it was thought dangerous to proceed upon them, and new ambassadors were sent to Rome to obtain more ample powers. They went first to the court of France, according to their instructions, and procured letters from Francis I., importuning the pope to grant the request of the king. In the mean time all hopes of peace with the emperor being vanished, Henry and Francis recalled their ambassadors from Madrid, and declared war in form by their respective heralds. Charles, in his answer to the English herald, spoke in moderate and even respectful terms of his royal master: but he spoke to the French herald with the greatest acrimony against Francis, declaring that he had violated

his most solemn oaths, and acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. The consequence was a challenge to single combat from Francis, which was accepted by Charles, and made a mighty noise in Europe, but at length came to nothing.

When Henry's ambassadors were admitted to an audience of the pope at Orvieto, they found him in great dread of the imperial army. Having the king's letters and those of the cardinal, he broke out into the strongest expressions of gratitude to the king, and of his earnest desire to oblige him. They then presented to his holiness a book which Henry had composed to prove the illegality of his marriage, and entered into a long conversation on the object of their embassy. At last they produced the draught of the new commission they had to ask, for cardinal Wolsey and another cardinal, to be named by the pope, and most earnestly entreated him to grant it, recommending cardinal Campeggio as the properest person to be joined with Wolsey.

Clement had an excellent judgment, whenever his timidity or rather pusillanimity allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed. His late imprisonment, and other misfortunes he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination that he never afterwards exerted himself with energy in any public measure; and he was now in the utmost perplexity. Queen Catherine was aunt to the emperor, and he was afraid of rekindling his resentment, by granting any thing injurious to the honour and interests of so near a relative. When he saw, however, the progress of the confederates in Italy, the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, and its capital invested by the confederate army, he believed that the war was nearly at an end, that the imperialists would be driven out of Italy, and he boldly resolved to grant the English ambassadors

almost whatever they desired. By a bull, dated June 6th, he appointed the cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio his legates a latere in England, with full powers to judge the affair of the king's marriage. Five weeks after he signed a solemn pollicitation, that he would never revoke the commission he had given them, nor avocate the cause to Rome; and soon after he granted a decretal bull annulling Henry's marriage with queen Catherine, and permitting him to marry any other lady. This bull was committed to Campeggio to be carried into England. But, in the interval, the affairs of the confederates having unexpectedly taken an unfavourable turn in Italy, the pope, though continuing in the same professions of friendship and gratitude to Henry, privately negotiated a reconciliation with the emperor, and resolved to do nothing effectual in favour of the king of England, that might prevent the success of that negotiation, and took the most effectual means to entangle the execution of the bulls he had granted. With this view he directed Campeggio, who was entirely under his influence, to pretend great reluctance to undertake so long a journey on account of his age and infirmities; and when this difficulty was overcome by the importunity and promises of the English ambassadors, he travelled so slowly that he did not arrive in England till the month of October. Henry, though extremely disgusted with these delays, received Campeggio with great regard and magnificence when he was introduced at his audience. The assembly being dismissed, the two cardinals had a private conference with the king, in which Campeggio exhorted him to live in love and harmony with his queen, and desist from prosecuting for a divorce. Henry, displeased beyond expression with an admonition so different from what he expected, could hardly restrain his anger.

To mitigate the king's displeasure and revive his hopes, Campeggio shewed to him and to the cardinal the decretal bull, which annulled his marriage : but they were both greatly irritated and disconcerted, when Cardinal Campeggio, on the most earnest entreaties to commit this bull to Wolsey for a few days, that he might shew it to some of the king's confidential counsellors, he obstinately refused to part with it. Henry began to suspect that some deception was intended, and Wolsey wrote immediately to the king's agent at Rome, commanding him to wait upon the pope, and to prevail upon him to send an order to Campeggio to shew the decretal bull to some of the king's confidential servants.

A few days after the two cardinals waited upon the queen, and intimated to her their commission to try the validity of her marriage. Campeggio, who was the speaker on this occasion, exhorted her to retire from the world and enter into a convent. She answered with great dignity and composure, that she was the king's lawful wife, and not at her own disposal ; that she could take no step without the advice of the emperor her nephew, from whom she expected protection, and that she could not look upon them as unbiassed judges in her cause. Then turning to cardinal Wolsey, she reproached him bitterly as the chief author of all her troubles.

The king's agent at Rome, according to the orders he had received from Wolsey, importuned the pope several different days in the most earnest manner, but found him inflexible. Henry, impatient at these delays, and anxious about the success of his application for the decretal bull, sent new ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to dissuade the pope from agreeing with the emperor ; to offer him a guard of two thousand men for the protection of his person ; and if nothing else could avail, to threaten, that if the king could not obtain justice

from him without delay, he and his subjects would withdraw their obedience from the see of Rome. They were also directed to consult with the most learned men in the court of Rome, if the pope could give him a dispensation to have two wives, and if the issue of both would be legitimate?

The pope, more perplexed than ever by the certainty of irritating the emperor if he yielded to the repeated solicitations of Henry, thought the best method was to spin out the affair by evasive answers, and thus he argued, temporised, promised, recanted, and disputed, hoping that the king's passion for Anne Boleyn would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. To complete the deception he sent his prothonotary Gambara to England, with a letter of credence to cardinal Wolsey, which contained nothing but unmeaning professions of friendship to the king and him, and a desire that they would give entire credit to what the bearer would communicate, though he knew he would not tell them one word of truth. Gambara assured them in the most solemn manner, that the pope was now determined to grant the king whatever he desired. The king and the cardinal were so elated by these assurances, that they resolved to send doctor Gardiner, their most active and able negociator, to Rome, to finish the business. They did not suspect that the real errand of Gambara was to see Campeggio burn the decretal bull, about which the pope was in the greatest apprehension.

*Ann. 1529.*

In the beginning of this year Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; the intrigues for electing his successor had already began among the cardinals, and Wolsey, supported by the interest of England and France, had the most hopeful chance of reach-



ing the throne of St. Peter. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses, and returned to the same train of deceitful politics by which he had hitherto deluded the court of England. He still continued his professions of cordial attachment to Henry and his secret negotiations with Charles, who made the recall of the commission exercised by Wolsey and Campeggio a fundamental article of his reconciliation.

The two legates meanwhile opened their court at London, May 31st, with great pomp, and gave an order to summon the king and queen to appear before them June 18th. The king appeared by two procurators, and the queen in person. She protested against the legates as partial and incompetent judges, affirming that the cause was avocated to Rome, and asking a sufficient time to bring proof of the truth of that affirmation. They gave her time to the 21st of June, to which they adjourned. Both the king and queen appeared personally on that day, but she persisted in her appeal, and immediately departed from the court. The legates, after citing the queen three times more without her appearance, declared her contumacious, and the cause being now ripe for decision, a session was held July 30th. The court was crowded with noblemen; the king was in an adjoining apartment, expecting to hear that a sentence of divorce was pronounced, when Campeggio declared that the courts of Rome were adjourned on that day, and therefore he and his colleague adjourned the court to October 1st. Henry, when he was informed of it, entered into a violent fury, but still hoping to obtain a sentence in his favour at the next meeting, he became more calm, and carefully concealed the strong suspicions under which he laboured, not only against Campeggio, but against Wolsey himself, for his not having given him the least hint of the in-

tended adjournment of the court, and suffered that blow to fall upon him without any warning ; and for his being so completely submissive towards Campeggio, instead of taking the lead in this affair, as he was entitled and in duty bound to do. These reflections considerably weakened his confidence in him, and their effects soon after appeared.

During the prorogation, both the imperial and the English residents at Rome solicited with an equal zeal, the former for the avocation of Henry's cause, and the latter against it. For some time the pope appeared undetermined, and thus encouraged the hopes of the king. But as soon as his holiness received intelligence that the treaty with the emperor was concluded at Barcelona, July 3d, he changed his tone, and told plainly the English ambassadors that he could not in justice refuse to grant the avocation. Henry, to divert his chagrin, set out on a journey to Grafton. The two cardinals followed him, and were admitted to an audience, in which the king so far constrained himself, that he treated them both with civility, and dismissed Campeggio without any expression of resentment for the treacherous part he had acted. Wolsey returned next morning to Grafton to wait upon the king, but a message was sent him to go and accompany Campeggio to London ; and after this repulse he never was permitted to see Henry again, whose discontent with his favourite was soon perceived by the whole court, and no endeavours were wanting to increase it.

Francis I. having lost all hopes of recovering his two sons from the emperor by a successful war, had for some time past been negotiating a peace ; and after many conferences it was concluded at Cambray, August 5th. The allies of both parties were comprehended in it, and among others the king of England, who adhered to it, though no attention had

been paid to his interests in the negociation. On this occasion Henry behaved with great generosity to his unfortunate ally the king of France. To enable him to pay the great ransom of his sons, he assigned to him a debt of two hundred and ninety thousand crowns, due by the emperor, and made him a present of a jewel, called the *fleur de lys*, which the emperor's father had pledged to Henry VII. for fifty thousand crowns.

The storm gathering around the cardinal burst out sooner and more severely than he apprehended. On the 1st day of the term, October 9th, he rode with his usual pomp to Westminster, to open his court of chancery, and on the same day the king's attorney presented an indictment against him in the king's bench, for procuring a bull from Rome appointing him *legatus a latere*, contrary to the statute of provisos, 16 Richard II., by which he had incurred a *præmunire*, and forfeited all his goods and even his liberty to the king. A few days after, Henry sent the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk to the cardinal to demand the great seal, and command him to remove from his palace in Westminster called *York place* (afterwards Whitehall), and go to Ashur, a house belonging to his bishopric of Winchester, near the magnificent palace of Hampton Court, built by him, and of which he had made a present to the king in 1525. An exact inventory was taken of all his goods, plate, and furniture, in his palace, York place, and they were estimated at five hundred thousand crowns, equivalent to five hundred thousand pounds of the present money. On his appearance in court by his attorney, he did not choose to make any defence, and confessed all charges true, in hopes of being received again into favour by so submitting himself to the king. Upon which the court pronounced that he was out of the protection of the laws, that his lands, goods, and

chattels were forfeited, and his person might be seized.

A parliament was now called, and met November 3d. One of the motives of its convocation seems to have been to complete the ruin of the cardinal, and prevent his return into favour, which his enemies very much apprehended. With this view a committee of the house of lords presented to that house a very long address to the king against Wolsey, containing forty-four heads of accusation, too long to be here inserted. Some of these were ridiculously trifling, some greatly exaggerated, if not untrue, few of some importance, and none highly criminal. Had the constitution been then fixed as it has been since, the inviolability of the king, and the responsibility of the ministers as well understood as they are in the present times, none of these forty-four articles would have been employed against Wolsey, but he would have been capitally impeached for the innumerable violations of the constitution, for all the flagrant abuses of the royal prerogative, and for all the acts of arbitrary power and despotism, committed during his administration. This address was sent to the house of commons and their concurrence desired. But there the cardinal found a powerful advocate in his own steward, the famous Thomas Cromwell, afterwards earl of Essex, who defended his fallen master with such strength of argument and power of eloquence, that the address was rejected. The king, far from being offended at it, immediately engaged Cromwell in his own service; which proves that Henry did not wish to be precluded from recalling his former favourite.

The parliament about the same time passed a statute, perhaps more unjust and oppressive than any of the acts of which they had accused the cardinal. They granted the king spontaneously a discharge of

all the debts he had contracted since the beginning of his reign, declaring the bonds and securities he had given for them, to be of no value. This bill, which ruined a multitude of his subjects of all ranks, was grounded on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, on his regularly employing, in the public service, all the money he had borrowed, and on the riches, tranquillity, and prosperity of England during his reign; forgetting, that a few days before, they had accused Wolsey of having brought the nation to the very brink of ruin.

At Christmas, Wolsey having received an order to surrender to the king York-place, which belonged to his see of York, complied with this illegal demand, but was so much chagrined by it, that he fell very dangerously ill.

*Ann. 1530.*

The news of the cardinal's sickness affected the king's compassion. He commanded his physician to visit him; and taking from his finger a ruby, on which his own picture was engraved, he ordered the doctor to deliver it to him, and assure him that he was not offended with him in his heart. Anne Boleyn, too, at the king's desire, taking the tablet of gold that hung at her side, delivered it to the doctor for the same destination, with many gentle and loving words. The cardinal received these tokens and messages with an inexpressible joy, of which courtiers in disgrace alone can conceive a just idea. From that moment his hopes revived, his disease abated, and in a few days he was out of danger.

Henry, having by this time seized every thing the cardinal possessed, seems to have intended to carry no further his prosecution against him. He granted him a pardon, February 12th, in the most ample manner that could be devised, and restored to him

the revenues, patronages, lands, and houses, of his archbishopric of York, except York place, with a pension of ten thousand marks out of the bishopric of Winchester. About the same time, the king sent him a present of three thousand pounds in money, and in plate or furniture, &c. &c. to the value of three thousand three hundred and seventy-four pounds three shillings and seven-pence, and unfortunately gave him leave to reside at Richmond. This residence, so near the court, and all these favours granted to the cardinal, without the knowledge of his enemies, greatly alarmed them. They exerted, therefore, all their arts to procure an order for his removal to so great a distance, as might prevent his having any interview with the king. They at length prevailed. An order was sent to him to go and reside in his archbishopric of York.

Wolsey in this situation behaved with great decorum and propriety in all respects, as it behoved a prelate of his high rank. He could not, however, overcome his taste for magnificence; and though in want of money, he employed three hundred labourers and artificers in repairing his castle of Cawood. His hospitality, popularity, and buildings, were greatly exaggerated and misrepresented to the king, to excite his jealousy. His enemies succeeded so completely in this attempt, that the day before that intended for Wolsey's installation in his cathedral, the earl of Northumberland, accompanied by a number of horsemen, arrived at Cawood, and arrested him for high treason. In his way to London, he was seized with a flux, and obliged to stop at Leicester abbey, where, after languishing two days, he died November 29th, in the sixtieth year of his age. In his last conversation with sir William Kingston, constable of the tower, who had him in his custody, among other things, he said, "Had I but served God, as diligently as I have served the king,

he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Let me advise you to take heed what you put in the king's head; for you can never put it out again. I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persude him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail."

Thus died the famous Wolsey, in all the gnawing pangs of an ambitious man in disgrace; as he could never find, either in the consciousness of his integrity or in the energy of his mind, the resolution he wanted to reconcile himself with his fallen situation, and stand superior to adversity. No man in any age, no subject in any country, ever rose, as he did, from an humble station to the highest degree of wealth and power. His revenues were nearly equal to those of the crown. During his long administration, he not only directed all the affairs in England, but he had a prevalent influence in most of the important transactions of Europe. He was courted and pensioned by almost all the sovereigns, praised by divines, historians, and poets, as the greatest of men; and a great man indeed he would have been, had he discovered for that pure glory which is acquired only by honourable deeds, the same ambition he had exclusively, for riches, power, and dignities; but there is not in his whole life a single action utterly unconnected with any of these inglorious objects of his ambition. He sometimes shamefully abused the unbounded confidence of his master; and on several occasions sacrificed the honour of his prince and the prosperity of his country to his own passions and private interests. He never forgave an affront, nor even those he received before his emerging from the low station to which he belonged; and he did not blush to confine for several years sir Amias

Pawlet, who had put him in the stocks for raising a riot at a country fair.

After this severe, but exact, investigation of the faults of Wolsey, it must be, in justice, acknowledged, that he was endowed with wonderful talents and capacity. He is not to be compared either to cardinal Richelieu or to cardinal Mazarin. He had neither the genius nor the high and energetic character of the former, nor the meekness and moderation of the latter. But he knew as well, and perhaps better than Mazarin, the characters of men, and particularly that of his prince, who most probably would have immediately turned him out, had he ventured to assume with him the imperious deportment of Richelieu with Lewis XIII. Nay, if a prince of the character of Henry VIII. could have agreed with a minister of Richelieu's character, God knows what the compatibility and coalescence of these two kinds of despotism could have produced. It is much better known, that Wolsey's good sense, dexterity, and influence, often regulated, and almost always mitigated, Henry's caprices and impetuosity; and that the subsequent part of his reign was much more criminal, than when he was directed by the counsels of Wolsey. Another peremptory objection against the possibility of a parallel between this cardinal and the two others, lays in the great difference of character of the princes they had to deal with. Lewis XIII. with a great rectitude of mind and good sense, had no kind of energy, and was perfectly conscious of it, which is seldom the case. He could neither like him, nor part with him, as he felt he could do nothing without him. Thence the proud and haughty minister reigned with an untroubled sway over the monarch, as over the kingdom, to the end of his life; and all the acts of his administration bear the stamp of his energy. Queen Ann of Austria united, to many faults of her



sex, few of the qualities of her rank; she was a weak and timid woman, though she had occasionally some whims of vigour, or rather of passion; and she felt no more her want of energy than its utility. As she was very deficient in point of instruction of any kind, and above all utterly unacquainted with politics and administration, she was neither so blind nor so vain as not to perceive that she could not manage her regency without being supported by an able prime-minister; but she preferred to be gently persuaded by a flattering adviser, than frightened into conviction by a commanding genius; and no minister could better suit her temper than cardinal Mazarin, whose temper was just as gentle as that of Richelieu was haughty. His general rule was, that vigour should never be employed, but when all other ways had proved insufficient. Cunning and patience were his favourite means in politics; and in all difficult cases, procrastination, as it was said, was his principal clerk. He had, however, the whole management of affairs in France, and directed them as completely as Richelieu did. As to Henry VIII. the most violent, fickle, and unruly prince of his age, *who, rather than missing or wanting any part of his will, would have endangered the one half of his kingdom*, it is very difficult to account with certainty for the amazing ascendancy Wolsey had got over him. The vulgar of all ranks believed that he had bewitched the king; but this extraordinary phenomenon must be ascribed to the extraordinary abilities and cunning of the cardinal, who contrived to render himself always agreeable, always useful, and even necessary to the king. Henry was fond of all kinds of pleasure; the cardinal applauded and encouraged this passion; he procured continually for him new amusements, which he enlivened by partaking of them. He provided him with companions and play-fellows, who were his own crea-

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tures, his confidants, and spies, as well as all the king's chaplains. He was regularly informed by them of every word the king spoke in his most unguarded moments; he danced and frolicked with the ladies of the court, and made them presents to gain their favour, and obtain intelligence. The bishop of Lincoln, whom, on his recommendation, the king had appointed his confessor, was also an old and faithful friend of Wolsey, who by all these means being privately acquainted before-hand with Henry's opinions, intentions, and wishes, was always sure of either supporting, promoting, or anticipating them. But his most important and masterly scheme was this; as he knew Henry's high estimation of his own wisdom, and his obstinate adherence to what he had once put into his head, he succeeded by long trains, artfully laid, in having his plans or projects cunningly suggested to, and proposed by the king, which he then praised as the best and wisest that could be adopted. By these and various other contrivances, this skilful politician gained, and long retained the favour of the most capricious and passionate of all princes.

According to a plan suggested by Dr. Cranmer, the king's agents were very active in collecting the opinions of universities at home and abroad in favour of his divorce. They prevailed also on several men of great learning to publish books on the same subject, and all concurred with the most famous universities of Europe in declaring the illegality of the king's marriage. All these decisions were sent to the court of Rome with an address of a considerable number of men of the highest rank among the clergy and laity, by which they conjured the pope to do justice to their distressed sovereign, by pronouncing the sentence of his divorce; intimating in very plain terms, that if he refused to do this, they would find a remedy in another way. The pope, still afraid to displease

the emperor, returned an evasive answer, which gave no satisfaction. The palace of St. James built.

*Ann. 1531, 1532.*

The king brings the affair of his divorce before the parliament, January 7th, and produces a box, containing all the opinions of learned men and the decrees of universities issued on that subject. The whole was communicated to the queen, May 31st, to persuade her to quiet the king's conscience by consenting to the divorce; but she persevered in declaring that she was Henry's lawful wife, married to him by the order of the holy church, and should remain so *till the court of Rome which was privy to the beginning had made thereof a determination and final ending.* The king was so much irritated at this answer, that he never saw the queen after.

As the greatest opposition to the divorce was expected from the clergy, the king resolved to humble them; and for that purpose, the same ancient and obsolete statute, which had been employed against Wolsey, was now turned against the ecclesiastics, on the pretence that every one who had submitted to the legantine court had violated the statute of provisoes, and the attorney general accordingly brought an indictment against them. They redeemed their persons and goods by paying for a pardon one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds. In the deed by which they engaged to pay that money to the king, they were brought to acknowledge him to be *the supreme head of the church of England.* An act was passed soon after, January, 1532, against levying the annates or first fruits, being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant, a tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which amounted to considerable sums. Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded

Cardinal Wolsey in the high office of Chancellor, perceiving that things tended to a total breach with the church of Rome, to which he was much attached, gave in his resignation; and was succeeded by sir Thomas Audley, speaker of the house of commons.

A new treaty of alliance between the kings of England and France is concluded at London, June 23d, 1532, and a personal interview of the two monarchs between Calais and Boulogne is agreed on. Henry, on Francis's entreaties, consented to bring Ann Boleyn to the interview, and on that occasion he created her Marchioness of Pembroke, and made her a grant of one thousand pounds a year in land, September 1st. The two kings met October 21st, at Boulogne, where Francis entertained most magnificently the king and court of England during four days; and on the 5th the two kings, with their attendants set out for Calais, where Francis was entertained with equal magnificence the same number of days. In the month of November, soon after the return from Calais, the marriage of Henry with Ann Boleyn was celebrated in great privacy. Dr. Rowland Lee officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, the father, mother, and brother of the royal bride were the only witnesses. Ann became pregnant soon after her marriage, and this event was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

*Ann. 1533.*

Dr. Cranmer being promoted to the see of Canterbury, one of his first cares was to put an end to the question of Henry's divorce. The king, on his requisition, gave him a commission *to proceed in the said cause and to the examination and final determination of the same.* The archbishop, attended

by the bishops of Winchester, London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many divines and canonists, opened his court May 10th, to which the king and queen had been summoned. The king appeared by proxy ; but the queen made no compearance and was declared contumacious. All the evidences, decrees of universities, and opinions of learned men were laid before the court ; and at last the primate, with the consent of all his assessors, pronounced, May 23d, a sentence of divorce, dissolving the king's marriage with Catherine of Spain, and declaring that it had been null and void from the beginning. In a court, held at Lambeth, May 28th, the primate pronounced judgment on the king's marriage with the marchioness of Pembroke, declaring it to be good and valid. Three days after, the new queen was crowned at Westminster with extraordinary pomp.

This news excited the most violent commotions in the court of Rome. The cardinals of the imperial party pressed the pope to launch the loudest thunders of the church against the king and the primate, for presuming to determine a cause depending before his holiness ; but on the interference of Francis I. whom the pope would not offend at that period, as he had proposed a marriage between the duke of Orleans, his second son, and Catherine de Medicis, niece to Clement, his holiness proceeded no further at that time than to reverse the sentence of divorce pronounced by the primate, and to threaten the king with excommunication, if he did not restore the things to their former state before September next.

During that time the king endeavoured to prevail on the former queen to submit to the sentence of divorce. It was intimated to her by lord Mountjoy, who acquainted her that she was thenceforward to enjoy the title and revenues of princess dowager

of Wales, promising, that if she complied with the king's will, her daughter would be put next in the succession to the issue of the present queen, and if she did not comply, her daughter would be excluded. But the unhappy Catherine remained inflexible, maintaining that she was the only lawful wife of the king, and would retain that character till she was deprived of it by the pope.

The king, who desired above all things to carry Francis along with him in his quarrel with the court of Rome, was very much displeased with the news of an intended interview between that prince and the pope. To dissuade Francis from it, he sent a splendid embassy to France, consisting of no less than five persons, at the head of whom was the duke of Norfolk. They found the king and court on their way to Marseilles, and having delivered their message, Francis answered that he was too far advanced to put off the interview, but that he would take the same care of their master's interests as of his own, and pressed them to accompany him and assist at the negociation; but Henry recalled them, and at the earnest entreaties of Francis he sent the bishop of Winchester, sir John Wallop, and Dr. Bonner to Marseilles to be present at the interview.

In the beginning of October the pope arrived at Marseilles, and soon after had the pleasure of marrying his niece, the famous Catherine de Medicis, who thus became the consort of one and the mother of three successive kings of France. On this favourable occasion, Francis prevailed upon the pope to promise that if Henry would send a proxy to Rome, he would judge his cause in a consistory, from which he would exclude the cardinals of the imperial party; but the English ambassadors knowing that Henry would not submit to send a proxy, directed Dr. Bonner to procure admittance to the pope, and declare to him, as he was commissioned to do, that

the king of England appealed from him to the next general council. The pope, greatly irritated at it, told Bonner he would consult the consistory, and give him an answer next day. The answer was that the appeal was illegal and merited no regard.

On the 7th of September, the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth. Henry was so much delighted with her birth, that soon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales, though he had already honoured with it his daughter Mary, during his former marriage, but he had resolved to exclude her from all hopes of succession.

*Ann. 1534.*

Francis I. makes another attempt to prevent a final rupture between the pope and the king, and with this view, sends John Dubellay, bishop of Paris, to London, to persuade Henry to make some advances towards a reconciliation. Henry consents to supersede withdrawing from the obedience of the holy see, till impartial judges had examined his cause, provided the pope supersedes to pass sentence against him, but he refuses to give that proposal in writing till his being assured that it will be accepted. The bishop goes immediately to Rome, presents the king's proposal to the pope and cardinals, by whom it is accepted, on condition that an authentic instrument of it, together with full powers to some person to appear and act in the king's name, shall be produced on a fixed day, which being passed without any news or courier being arrived from England, the pope assembles the consistory, consisting of twenty-six cardinals. Those of the imperial party insisted with great vehemence on proceeding immediately to pronounce a final sentence. The bishop of Paris begs earnestly a delay of only six days, and

represents that the courier might have been retarded by several accidents. The pope seems irresolute, but the majority being for proceeding, a sentence is pronounced, declaring the marriage of king Henry and queen Catherine good and valid, and the issue of it legitimate. Two days after, the courier arrived, bringing every thing that was desired or expected. The pope and cardinals then saw the grievous error they had committed, and would gladly have repaired it, but it was irreparable; the sentence had been pronounced with too much solemnity to be reversed. Thus a false precipitate step rendered impracticable a reconciliation, which was sincerely wished for on both sides.

Henry was both surprised and enraged at this intelligence. He resolved not to postpone any longer a total breach with the court of Rome; and as the great majority of his subjects of all classes were ripe for it, it was effected without any commotion. In a session of parliament, which was opened January 15th, several acts were made, which almost annihilated all the power and revenues of the pope in England. The act against paying first fruits to the pope was confirmed with great additions, regulating how the bishops were to be chosen and consecrated without making any application to Rome for bulls. By another act all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other acts were prohibited. By a third, the payment of Peter-pence, and all payments to the Apostolic chamber for dispensations and other writings, were discharged.

In the same session an act was made, confirming the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and his marriage with Ann Boleyn, and settling the succession to the crown on his issue male by his present or any future queen, and for want of male on the princess Elizabeth. In the next session of this parliament, which opened November 3d, the supre-



macy of the church of England with all its rights and emoluments, were annexed to the crown, which completed the separation of the kingdom from the church and court of Rome. By another act, the parliament granted the king and his successors, as supreme heads of the church, not only the first fruits or annates that had been formerly paid to the pope, but also a tenth of the annual revenue of all ecclesiastical benefices, both regular and secular.

In that session, a famous impostor, called the Holy Maid of Kent, whose pretended revelations had made so much noise during two years, was found guilty of high treason with six of her accomplices. That young woman being subject to hysterical fits, the parson of the parish of Aldington where she lived, taught her to counterfeit trances, and prevailed upon her to affirm that the things which he had instructed her to say in those trances were revealed to her by the Holy Ghost. The tendency of all her revelations and prophecies, which were published, was to exalt the power of the pope and clergy, and to denounce the vengeance of heaven on all who disobey them, particularly on the king if he divorced queen Catherine and married another wife. She was examined in the star chamber with six of her accomplices, who confessed the whole plot, which had been contrived and abetted by the monks, and brought a great load of odium against them.

To secure the submission of all the people to the act of succession, all the members of both houses took an oath on the last day of the session, March 30th, "that they shall truly, firmly and constantly observe, maintain and keep to their cunning, wit and uttermost of their power, the whole effects and contents of the present act." Commissioners were immediately appointed to administer this oath in all parts of the kingdom, and it was generally taken, but with much reluctance, by many of the clergy.

Two persons of great reputation for their piety, virtue and learning, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, the late chancellor, refused to take it. As the influence of their example was apprehended, great endeavours were used to overcome their scruples, but they persisted in refusing that part of the oath which expressed an approbation of the king's divorce and second marriage. They were both committed to the tower, attainted of misprision of treason, and all their estates, rents and goods confiscated.

An act of parliament, November 3d, totally abolishes the papal power, annexes to the crown the king's title of supreme head on earth of the church of England, and declares "that the king, his heirs and successors, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction or authority, ought or may lawfully be reformed, &c. &c." By another act it is declared to be high treason to deny or dispute any of the king's dignities or titles. By the last act of this session the parliament granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, to be paid in three years. At the end of this year the archbishop Cranmer applied to the king and obtained a commission to himself and some other learned men to prepare a translation of the bible into English. When it was printed, the king, by proclamation, 1537, commanded one of these bibles to be deposited in every parish church, to be read by all who pleased; and it was only in 1539, that permission was granted to all the subjects to purchase copies of this English bible for the use of themselves and their families.

*Ann. 1535.*

Henry assumes his new title in great state, in the presence of the whole court, January 15th, and commands that it should be added to his other titles in all courts, deeds, and writings. Bishop Fisher, in the eightieth year of his age, and sir Thomas More in his fifty-third year, are brought to their trial, found guilty of high treason and executed. The cheerfulness of the latter and his facetious humour did not forsake him in his last moments: "Help me up," said he to a friend when he was mounting the scaffold, "and let me shift for myself to get down." The executioner asking his forgiveness he granted it, and told him smiling, "you will get no credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." After he had laid his head upon the block, he called to the executioner to stop a little till he had put his beard aside, "for that," said he, "hath committed no treason."

Clement VII. had died about six months after he had pronounced sentence against the king, and Paul III. of the house of Farnese had succeeded to the papal throne: as he had always favoured Henry's cause, he hoped that personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, a reconciliation with England might not be impossible. But when he heard of Fisher's execution, he was so much irritated that several bulls were immediately prepared against the king; by one he and all his accomplices were to be summoned to appear at Rome in ninety days to answer for their conduct; by the others, the king and all his ministers were excommunicated; his subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; the kingdom was laid under an interdict, &c. &c. but on reflecting that he had no means of rendering these bulls effectual by dethroning the

excommunicated king, he prudently suppressed them.

The king sends ambassadors to negotiate an alliance with the protestant princes of Germany, and strictly enjoins all the bishops to preach against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, and to transmit the same injunction to all their clergy. All the orders of monks and friars are dissolved, as being the most zealous partizans of the pope, the enemies of the king's supremacy, and of all reformation.

*Ann. 1536.*

Queen Catherine, seized with a lingering illness, dies at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king, in which she gave him the appellation of *her most dear lord*, king and husband. The emperor thinking that this event had removed all foundation of personal enmity between him and Henry, endeavoured to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England. With this view he proposes, "that the king would be reconciled to the pope, that he would aid the emperor against the Turk, and that, agreeable to the treaty of 1518, he would assist him against the French, who threatened Milan." To this it was answered, "That the first breach of amity proceeded from the emperor, which if he will acknowledge and excuse, the king is contented to renew it simply. As to the conditions proposed: 1st, The proceedings against the bishop of Rome have been so just and so ratified by the parliament of England, that they cannot be revoked. 2dly, As for aid against the Turk, when christian princes shall be at peace, the king will do therein as to a christian prince belongeth. 3dly,

For aid against France, he cannot resolve on that till the amity be renewed with the emperor; that so being an indifferent friend to both, he may freely travel, either to keep peace between them, or to aid the injured party." This sensible and spirited answer, evinces that Henry was at that time firmly resolved not to part with the complete sovereignty he had obtained over all his subjects.

The last session of that parliament, which was first assembled, November 3d, 1529, met February 1st, this year, and passed several important acts. By one of them, all the small monasteries and nunneries in the kingdom, which had not each above two hundred pounds a year of clear income, were dissolved, and all their churches, houses, and goods of any kind, given to the king. Their number amounted to three hundred and seventy-six, their yearly rents to about thirty-two thousand pounds, and the value of their cattle, plate, and furniture, to a hundred thousand pounds. By another act, Wales was more intimately united to England, and its inhabitants were subjected to the English laws, or rather admitted at their own request to the privilege of being governed by them.

The protestant princes of Germany present the following propositions to the English negotiators. 1st, That the king should embrace the Augustan confession of faith, altered in some things by common consent, and defend it with them in a free council, if it should be called. 2dly, That neither party should consent to a council without the other. 3dly, That the king should join their league, and become its head and defender. 4thly, That the vulgar opinion of the pope's supremacy should be rejected for ever. 5thly, That if any of the contracting parties should be invaded for religion, the other should give no aid against him. 6thly, That the king should give one hundred thousand crowns,

for the defence of the league; and two hundred thousand, if the war continued long. To these propositions it was answered, That the king approved of them, in general, with some amendments; that he accepted of the title of head and defender of the league; and would advance the money required, as soon as all the conditions were settled. He desired them to send commissioners to treat of these conditions, and some of their learned men to confer with his divines on the doctrines and ceremonies of the church. Such was the state of this important negotiation, when it was interrupted by the most extraordinary and unexpected event.

Henry, who had persevered in his love to Ann Boleyn, during six years that the prosecution of his divorce lasted, had not long obtained secure possession of the object of his passion, when it languished; though he had lived in great conjugal felicity from his marriage till about the beginning of this year. He was then captivated by the charms of Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honour of the queen, and daughter of sir John Seymour, of Wolf-hall, in Wiltshire. This new passion extinguished all his former love, which by the malignant insinuations of the queen's enemies, was succeeded by the most furious jealousy. The viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but lived upon bad terms with her, suggested the most cruel suspicions to the king. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and not content with this horrible calumny, she poisoned the mind of Henry, by representing each instance of favour which the queen conferred on any one, as a token of criminal affection. Two gentlemen of the king's chamber, one groom of the stole, and a musician, groom of the chamber, were pointed out as possessing much of the queen's friendship.

The queen was not unacquainted with the king's passion for Jane Seymour, but she was altogether ignorant of his jealousy of her own conduct, till it broke upon her like a clap of thunder. On the 1st of May, there was a great tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court, were present. In the midst of the diversion, the king rose suddenly from his seat, went out, mounted his horse, and rode off attended only by six persons. Lord Rocheford, the two gentlemen of the king's chamber, and the two grooms, were arrested early next morning, and sent to the tower. At the same time the queen was confined to her chamber. When she was informed of the cause of her confinement, she made the most solemn protestations of her innocence, and earnestly entreated to be permitted to see the king; but that was not granted. In the afternoon of the same day, she was conducted to the tower by her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, who being a partizan of the pope, was one of her greatest enemies, on account of her being a zealous promoter of reformation.

The queen wrote Henry a letter from the tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence; but it made no impression on the obdurate heart of Henry, who thought of nothing else but of his *new marriage*. Lord Rocheford, and the other gentlemen who were imprisoned on account of the queen, were tried and condemned, though no legal evidence was produced against them.

Such was the unfeeling severity of Henry to his unhappy queen, that he excluded all her relations and friends from seeing her in her confinement. She was brought to her trial May 13th, in the king's hall in the tower; the duke of Norfolk, her uncle, presided, as lord high steward, and was attended by twenty-five other lords; so that one half of the peers

of England, then fifty-three in number, did not participate in this enormous act of injustice and barbarity. Her indictment charged her, "With having procured her brother, and the other four, to lie with her, which they had done often, which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her." The only evidence produced against her, was a declaration, which a lady Wingfield, who was in her grave, was said to have made a little before her death. The queen, who had been denied an advocate, pleaded not guilty, and behaved with great dignity and composure. She was, however, to the everlasting shame of her judges, declared guilty of high treason, and sentenced to be either burned or beheaded, as the king should direct. She heard this dreadful sentence without being terrified; but lifting up her eyes and hands to heaven, she said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I did not deserve this death." Then, turning to the judges, she made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence. The lord mayor and aldermen of London, and some others who had been admitted to be spectators of this trial, went away with the full conviction of the queen's innocence.

Henry's fury was not quite satisfied with this atrocious sentence, he still wanted to have his marriage with Ann Boleyn annulled, and her issue declared illegitimate. With this view she was threatened to have the sentence issued against her, executed in its greatest rigour, and was thus prevailed on to confess, in court, some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge of the question, thought himself obliged, by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the raving fits of his jealousy and brutality, was utterly incapable of perceiving the inconsistency of his proceedings; or he would have acknowledged, that if there was no marriage be-



tween him and Ann there could not possibly be an adultery; and, therefore, that the sentence of death was to be reversed; but on this occasion, he not only sacrificed the life of his queen, and the legitimacy of his child, but trampled upon all law, justice, and feelings, to gratify his passion.

Little time was allowed to the unhappy queen, to prepare for the last scene of this barbarous tragedy. In this awful interval, she retained her usual serenity, and spent several hours of the day in private devotion, or with her almoner. On the 19th of May, about eleven o'clock, she was brought to a scaffold, erected on the green in the tower; her looks were cheerful, and she never appeared more beautiful. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king, and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for, as more expert than any in England. Her remains were thrown into a common chest for holding arrows, and instantly buried in the chapel of the tower.

How could any doubt remain of the innocence of this unfortunate queen, when Henry, her accuser, or rather her murderer, knew not whom to accuse as her lover, or could not bring the least proof against any of those he accused? Had he never contracted a criminal passion for Jane Seymour, we never should have heard of the indiscretions, and still less of the crimes, of Ann Boleyn; nothing but her beauty and virtues would have been recorded. It may be said, however, that her misfortunes were principally owing to an imprudence of her's, against which her own experience should have been a most effectual warning. Nobody knew bet-

ter than she did how Henry's affections were liable to be captivated by the charms of the queen's maids of honour ; therefore, she should not have exposed him to a relapse, by appointing to that situation the handsome and agreeable Jane Seymour, whom Henry married only one day after her own execution. It then became evident, that the only crime of Ann Boleyn was her being an obstacle to Henry's impatience of gratifying his new passion.

Princess Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king ; but Henry would not hear of it, unless she would consent to adopt his theological tenets, acknowledge his supremacy, renounce the pope, and own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess ; but after some delays, and even refusals, she complied with her father's conditions.

A new parliament was called, and opened June 8th, with a speech of the chancellor, lord Audley, full of the most disgusting flattery. After representing in strong terms, and in the king's presence, how unhappy his majesty had been in his two former marriages, which, said he, would have deterred any other man from engaging again in matrimony, " this, our most excellent prince, on the humble petition of the nobility, and not out of any carnal lust or affection, had again condescended to contract matrimony."

(*Journal of the House of Lords*, vol. 1. p. 84.) The propriety of such a petition after a long widowhood could not be denied, but the possibility of finding a moment to present it during a widowhood which lasted hardly twenty-four hours, is not so easily conceived. Richard Rich, speaker of the house of commons, striving to outstrip the chancellor in flattery, compared Henry, for justice and prudence to Solomon, for strength and fortitude to Sampson, for beauty and comeliness to Absalom.

Henry, finding that the parliament was no less submissive in their deeds, than obsequious in their praises, did not miss that opportunity of having his most lawless passions gratified. An act for regulating the succession was passed, the divorces of the king from his two former queens were confirmed by it, and their issue illegitimated, and declared incapable of inheriting the crown; it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife, and in case he should die without children, he was impowered to dispose of the crown by his will, or letters patent; an enormous power in the hand of a prince so violent and so capricious. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause, a political inquisition was established, and the accusations of treason multiplied to an unlimited degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises. Another act made it treason to marry, without the king's consent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. The king, or any of his successors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was twenty-four years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law.

The convocation of the clergy, which sat at the same time with the parliament, encouraged the king in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court

of Rome. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly ; but the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent ; and the new assumed supremacy, with whose limits no one was fully acquainted, restrained the most furious movements of theological rancour. One party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power ; the other, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles. The church in general was averse to the reformation ; and the lower house of the assembly framed a list of sixty-seven opinions, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants. They sent these opinions to the upper house to be censured. The convocation, after some debate, came at last to decide articles of faith, the standard of which they determined to consist in the scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian ; a signal victory for the reformers. Auricular confession and penance were admitted ; a doctrine agreeable to the catholics. No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as sacraments ; and in this omission, the influence of the protestants was obvious. The real presence was asserted according to the ancient doctrine. The terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

So far the two parties seem to have made a fair partition, by sharing alternately the several clauses, and the same compromise was observed in framing the subsequent articles. " The catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by scripture ; the protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible re-

presentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to saints; the late innovations, in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-Wednesday, Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were adopted, by the convocation's asserting, that they had not any immediate power of remitting sin, and that their only merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind. As to purgatory, it was agreed that the use of praying for souls departed, having been recommended by the book of Maccabees, and many ancient authors, as a good and charitable deed, and the practice of it maintained in the church from the beginning, all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of it. But since the place where departed souls are retained before they reach paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, is left unknown by scripture, all such questions should be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them."

These articles being corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of the convocation, while perhaps neither there, nor any where else in the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himself, who adopted precisely the whole of these doctrines and opinions; a certain creed was embraced by each party, and to keep them all in awe and submission, Henry displayed the utmost power of the most imperious despotism.

The dissolution of all the smaller monasteries, the demolition of so many churches and religious houses,

the dispersion and wandering of about ten thousand monks and nuns, had raised a great discontent among the people, and disposed them to revolt. The first gathering of the malcontents was in Lincolnshire. They did not immediately proceed to hostilities, but sent an humble remonstrance to the king, praying for a redress of the following grievances : 1. The demolition of their monasteries. 2. The employing persons of mean birth in the administration, which alluded to Thomas, who had been received into the king's service on the fall of his former patron, Cardinal Wolsey, whose secretary he was, and had been successively appointed master of the jewel house, secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, vicegerent of the king in spirituals, and lately raised to the peerage by the style and title of Lord Cromwell. 3. Levying subsidies which were not necessary. 4. Taking away four sacraments. 5. That several bishops subverted the ancient faith. The king, in a spirited answer to this petition, vindicated his conduct in all the particulars complained of, commanded the rebels to deliver up their leaders, and to retire to their own homes, to preserve themselves, their wives and children from ruin. The duke of Suffolk, who had been dispatched with some troops against them, prevailed upon the king to grant them a general pardon, which produced the desired effect. They made their submission October 19th, and then separated.

Another insurrection, much more formidable, broke out about the same time in Yorkshire and the northern counties, under the specious, inviting name of *Pilgrimage of Grace*. The numbers of those who, through the influence of the monks, flew to arms and joined that martial pilgrimage, amounted to forty thousand. They painted on their banners the five wounds of Christ, wore on their sleeves a device of the same kind, and priests

marched before them carrying crucifixes. As they advanced they restored the monks to their monasteries, and persuaded or compelled all the gentlemen, who did not fly, to join them. The archbishop of York and the earl d'Arcy were obliged to surrender the castle of Pomfret, in which they had retired, and to march with the rebels. The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces, scarcely exceeding five thousand men. The two armies approached each other at Doncaster October 26th, with only the river Don between them, which was so swelled by rains that neither of them dared to pass it. The duke, to gain time till the arrival of certain reinforcements he expected, proposed a treaty, in which it was agreed, that the insurgents should send a petition to the king; that the duke should also go to court to second the petition, and that there should be a cessation of hostilities till he and their messengers were returned. A general pardon was granted by the king, with the exception of six named and four unnamed, and a commission was sent to the duke and several other noblemen, to meet with three hundred of the insurgents at Doncaster and settle the conditions of peace. The king's motive for admitting so many of the insurgents to this negotiation, was probably to give his own commissioners an opportunity of gaining or dividing them. But when the duke produced the general pardon, they unanimously expressed great dissatisfaction with the exceptions it contained. The duke, who earnestly desired a pacification, wrote a pressing letter to the king, to obtain a general pardon for the rebels, without any exception, and a promise that the next parliament should be held in the north. The king complied with this request; and the insurgents, satisfied with these conditions, disbanded, in hopes of having every thing settled to their own mind, by a parliament held in their

own country. There are very few instances of two such formidable insurrections at the same time, in the same country, suppressed without any action, or a single drop of blood spilt in the field. Henry issued, at that period, a proclamation, abolishing all the holidays in harvest, from July 1st to September 29th, except three; commanding the feasts of the dedication of all the churches in England, commonly called *wakes*, to be kept on the first Sunday in October; and prohibiting the observation of the feasts of the patrons of churches.

*Ann. 1537.*

The spirit of rebellion in the north, was rather smothered than extinguished, and internal discontents still prevailed. The duke of Norfolk was commanded, accordingly, to remain there with his troops, to preserve the peace of the country. This wise measure did not prevent another insurrection breaking out in Cumberland in the beginning of this year. Eight thousand of the rebels besieged Carlisle, but were defeated by the duke of Norfolk, who hanged seventy of his prisoners by martial law. Sir Francis Bigot attempted to surprise Hull, but was taken and executed, as well as several other gentlemen of the nobility, who had been very active in the great insurrection, and had taken the benefit of the general pardon. Lord d'Arcy and lord Hussey, who had been concerned in the Lincolnshire insurrection, were tried by their peers, and beheaded. Lady Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield, Robert Aske, one of the leaders of the rebels, was hung in chains on one of the towers of York; and sixty persons, who had been concerned in a riotous tumult in Somersetshire, were tried and put to death. The terror produced by these numerous executions, suppressed the spirit of revolt which at this time prevailed in



England. Soon after this prosperous success, the queen was delivered of a son, October 12th, who was baptised by the name of Edward. The king, and all his loyal subjects, were transported with joy at this event, as it removed all danger of a disputed succession, one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation; but this joy was soon checked, and converted into mourning, by the death of the queen, twelve days after her delivery, October 24th.

*Ann. 1538.*

The negotiations for a confederacy between the king and the protestant princes of Germany, still continued, but very slowly. The princes wished to know what were the articles of their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They pretended to convince the king, that he was mistaken in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy. Henry would by no means acknowledge any of these errors, and was nearly as much offended as surprised, at their pretending to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enough to defend his cause, and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to any conclusion.

The pope having, at last, succeeded in conciliating the long quarrels between the emperor and Francis I., and prevailed on these two monarchs, June 28th, to conclude a truce of ten years; his holiness thought this opportunity the most favourable that could occur, to publish the bulls he had prepared three years before, excommunicating and deposing Henry, in hopes that these two princes would put them into execution; but Henry's power was now so firmly established by the suppression of the late

insurrections, that the pope's invitations and solicitations were totally declined by Charles and Francis.

While the emperor and the king of France refused to second the resentment of the pope, he found a powerful auxiliary among Henry's own relations. This was Reginald Pole, fourth son of Margaret, countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, duke of Clarence, second brother to Edward IV. He early discovered a taste for letters, and was educated, at Henry's expence, at Paris and Padua, and designed for the highest preferments in the church; but the opinions and connections he adopted in Italy, determined him to take a decided part against the king, his relation and benefactor, in his controversies with the court of Rome. He wrote, and sent to Henry a treatise on the unity of the church, in which he condemned his divorce and second marriage in the strongest terms, and even exhorted the emperor to avenge the injury thereby done to his aunt, and to the authority of the pope. He afterwards published this book, and spread it all over Europe. The pope, to reward his zeal and increase his influence, made him a cardinal, and appointed him his legate *a latere* in Flanders, that he might foment divisions and insurrections in England, by means of his numerous and powerful friends. In this he was more active than successful. Henry Courtenay, first-cousin to the king, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Devonshire, Henry Pole, lord Montacute, and sir Jeffrey Pole, the cardinal's two brothers, sir Edward Nevil, sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse and knight of the garter, with several persons of inferior rank, were drawn into a conspiracy which was discovered, and proved their ruin. They were all taken prisoners, November 3d, and soon after tried, found guilty of high treason, and executed. This was a deadly blow to the pope's

party ; they knew not whom to trust, and saw how dangerous it was to plot against a government so vigilant and so vindictive. Though Henry had emancipated himself and his subjects from the dominion of the pope, he continued as much attached as ever to some tenets of the church of Rome, particularly transubstantiation ; and persecuted with the most unrelenting cruelty those who called that doctrine in question. One Lambert, being accused of that heresy, before archbishop Cranmer, appealed to the king, as supreme head of the church of England. Henry, vain of his theological learning, determined to bring him to a solemn trial before himself in Westminster hall, where all the prelates and principal nobility were summoned to attend. On the appointed day, the king appeared in great state, clothed in white, and seated under a canopy of the same colour, to denote the purity of his faith. The spiritual lords were seated on his right hand, and the temporal on his left ; the hall was crowded with spectators, attracted from all parts of the kingdom. The king then addressed the prisoner, and asked him if he believed the real corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar ? “ I believe,” said Lambert, “ with St. Augustine, the presence of Christ in the sacrament in a certain manner.” The king, in a passionate tone, commanded him to give a direct answer. Ten bishops, who had been appointed for the debate, argued for the corporeal presence from various topics. Lambert answered them with great acuteness and strength of argument, though often insulted and ridiculed. As he persevered in his heresy, he was condemned to be burnt ; and the sentence was executed with circumstances of uncommon cruelty.

*Ann. 1539.*

A new parliament met April 25th, and was opened with unusual pomp. All the members of the two houses waited upon the king, rode in state with him, two and two, to Westminster abbey, heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, and after escorting his majesty back to the palace, proceeded to the parliament chamber in the same state and order. But this assembly, so remarkable by the splendour of its installation, was still more so by the abject servility of its proceedings; and enacted, both in spirituals and temporals, whatever the king and his ministers were pleased to dictate. By the act of the six articles, commonly called the bloody statute, they established the doctrine of the real presence, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession; and they authorised a persecution, worse in some respects than the inquisition, against those who denied them. By another act, they granted the king all the lands, rents, buildings, jewels, money, gold and silver plate, furniture, goods and chattels, belonging to all monasteries, abbeys, nunneries, convents, priories, colleges, hospitals, and religious houses, dissolved or to be dissolved. In order to persuade the peers, and the gentlemen of the house of commons to pass this bill, they were assured that there should be created forty earls, sixty barons, three thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers, with skilful captains, and competent maintenance for them all; and that no more loans or subsidies should be ever demanded. A similar *spoliation* has been executed, two hundred and fifty years after, against the French clergy, not by the king, but against his will, and in spite of his remonstrances, by a national assembly, where it was promoted by the popular

party, which soon after overturned the throne, as, in great measure, Henry did the rights of the people.

By this prodigious grant, the king obtained possession of the lands of six hundred and forty-five monasteries (of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament), ninety colleges of priests, a hundred and ten hospitals, two thousand, three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels. The yearly rents of these lands amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds, which was not one half, and perhaps not one third of their value; as their former owners had been accustomed to let their lands at very low rents, and to receive large premiums on the renewal of their leases. The value of the jewels, money, church plate, cattle, furniture, &c. &c. &c., belonging to these religious houses, was immense; and the whole, if it had been properly managed, was sufficient to render the crown independent of the country. The gold taken from the shrine of Thomas Becket, at Canterbury, filled, it is said, two chests which eight strong men could hardly carry. But as nearly three hundred and seventy years had elapsed since the death of Thomas Becket, and as he had been esteemed the greatest of saints, and had received the most valuable offerings from immense yearly crowds of pilgrims, he was treated with greater ceremony than others. He was solemnly tried before the king in council, and found to be neither a saint, because he had rebelled against his sovereign; nor a martyr, as he had fallen in a fray in which he was the aggressor. He was, therefore, condemned as a traitor; all the rich ornaments of his altar and shrine were confiscated, his festival abolished, and all his images thrown down.

The better to reconcile the people to this immense invasion, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of their convents. The reliques, also, which had so long been the ob-

ject of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; in the mean time, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war, as well as peace, all the expences of government. But, independently of the ill luck which commonly attends ill-gotten riches, Henry, no less prodigal than rapacious, either made gifts of the revenues of convents, to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. The consequence was, that the very next year he was reduced to the necessity of asking a subsidy.

Another statute of the same parliament gave the same force and authority to royal proclamations as to acts of parliament, thereby rendering all future parliaments unnecessary for the purpose of making laws. In this session, the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed. Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedency assigned him above all of them. Thus a black-smith's son, for he was no other, sat next the royal family; and, though possessed of no manner of literature, was placed at the head of the church.

The violent hatred of Henry against cardinal Pole had extended itself to all his friends and relations, and particularly to his mother, the countess of Salisbury; but finding that the offences, on which he wanted her to be tried, could not be proved, or that they were not subjected by law to such severe punishments as he wished to inflict upon her, he resolved to proceed in a more expeditious and arbitrary manner. He consulted the judges, to know whether the parliament could attain any body without giving

him any trial, or citing him to appear before them. The judges answered that if a person was attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought into question, and must remain good in law; but they observed that no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner; and that they thought the parliament never would. But Henry learned by their decision, that this way of proceeding, though contrary to all principles of equity, was yet practicable, and resolved to employ it against the countess. Cromwell shewed to the house of peers a banner of the northern rebels, which he affirmed was found in the countess's house; and the parliament, without any farther proof or inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and involved in it, without any better proof, the marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingly. These two gentlemen were executed, the marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve.

Henry had now been more than a year a widower, and in that interval had been engaged in several treaties of marriage, particularly with the duchess dowager of Milan, and with Mary of Guise, who married his nephew, James V., of Scotland. Cromwell, who was then a mighty favourite, lately admitted a knight of the garter, and created earl of Essex, wished to see Henry united with a protestant princess, and recommended Ann, sister to the duke of Cleves, who was reported to be a great beauty. Unfortunately for the princess, Henry complied with this recommendation, and was determined to it by a flattering portrait of Ann, painted by Hans-Holben. The preliminaries were soon adjusted, and the settlement of the terms of the king's marriage followed immediately. The princess was brought over from Calais, by the earl of Southampton, with a fleet of fifty sail, landed at Deal, December 27th,

and by slow journies, with great expence and pomp, arrived at Greenwich.

*Ann. 1540.*

The royal nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence January 6th. In the midst of this show of splendour and apparent joy, Henry vainly endeavoured to conceal the deep chagrin which preyed upon him. Impatient to see his bride, he had gone incognito to Rochester January 2d, and had a sight of her without his being known. She appeared to him so unlike the picture and descriptions he had received of her person, that he expressed his disgust in very indelicate terms. He made himself known to her, however, and received her with civility, and even seeming kindness. But her conversation did not compensate the deficiency of her charms. She understood no language but German, had no knowledge of music, in which he delighted, and was likely to prove a very insipid companion. He entertained some thoughts of sending her back unmarried. But on reflecting that such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family, he resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage. Cromwell who had recommended it, and knew very well how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after marriage, whether he now liked the princess any better. The king told him, that he hated her worse than ever, and that her person was more disgusting on a near approach. He even entertained suspicions against her maiden chastity, a point about which he had an extreme delicacy. He continued however to be civil to Ann, and seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but a discontent lay lurk-



ing in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met April 12th. This was the first session to which no abbots or priors were summoned, as their baronies were now annexed to the crown, which considerably reduced the number and influence of the spiritual lords. Though that same parliament had been told a year before, that if they granted the king the possession of all the monasteries (which they did), neither he nor any of his successors would have occasion to demand any subsidies; yet such a demand was the principal motive for calling the present session. A bill for granting the king one tenth and one fifteenth was brought early into the house of commons, where it does not appear that it met with any opposition. It was brought into the house of lords May 10th, read only once, and passed with the assent and consent of all who were present. Such a subsidy being only a mere trifle to the insatiable wants of a prince, who in a twelvemonth had expended or dissipated all the riches of all the monasteries of the kingdom, the parliament, never weary of granting, dissolved the order of the knights of Malta, and granted all their houses, lands, and goods to the king. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition no wise contemptible to the subsidy already voted. The reasons assigned for this dissolution were, "that the knights of Malta drew yearly great sums out of the kingdom, supported the usurped power of the pope, had lost the island of Rhodes to the Turks, and that their revenues might be better employed."

The convocation of the clergy gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the

realm, in building forts along the sea coast, and in equipping a navy.

These measures, though they were approved by parliament, excited a general murmur among the people against the king and Cromwell. Henry, far from being displeased, rejoiced at it, as a most favourable opportunity to get rid of his late favourite, who was no more so since he had been the promoter of his detested marriage with Ann de Cleves. The fall of Cromwell was long and ardently wished for by a great part of the nation. The nobility hated a man, who from the lowest class had been raised above the first persons in the kingdom. The protestants disliked him, for his concurrence with the king's will for their persecution; the papists detested him as the inveterate enemy of their religion; and the king, who found that great clamours had arisen against the administration, did not hesitate to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred, hoping by so easy a sacrifice to regain the affections of his subjects. But another circumstance still more fatal to the minister was that Henry, as fickle as impetuous in his passions, began at that time to cast an amorous eye on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwell, and made against him the same use of his niece's insinuations that he had formerly done of Ann Boleyn's against Wolsey. By their whispers and misrepresentations of Cromwell's words and actions, the last remains of Henry's friendship for him were so soon and so completely extinguished, that he gave a commission to the duke to arrest him at the council board, June 10th, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the tower, where he was followed by an immense crowd of people hissing and cursing the fallen minister. Immediately after a bill of attainder was framed against him, and the house of peers, with-

out any trial, examination, or evidence, condemned him to death. The house of commons passed the same bill, but not without some opposition. Cromwell was accused, without the least proof, of treason and heresy. Henry never had a minister more devoted to him, nor more eager to adopt his opinions in religious matters as well as in politics. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities, worthy of a better master, and even of a better fate; had he not been the too servile instrument of Henry's tyranny in the preceding session, in personally conducting, against the countess of Salisbury and others, bills of attainder no less abominable than that by which he himself suffered.

The measures for Henry's divorce were carried on at the same time, on a very remarkable plan. A motion was made in the house of lords, July 6th, by the chancellor, "That an humble address be presented to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to grant a commission to the convocation of both provinces, to try the validity of his present marriage." This motion was unanimously approved, and the commons readily agreed to join in the address. The whole house of lords with about twenty of the commons immediately went to court, and being admitted into the royal presence, the chancellor said, "That the two houses of parliament wished to mention a matter of great moment to his majesty, and humbly prayed, that his most excellent serenity, out of his inestimable goodness, would grant them his permission." To which the king replied, "That he had so good an opinion of his two houses of parliament, that he was convinced they would not propose any thing that was iniquitous, dishonest, or unreasonable, and therefore he permitted them to speak with *impunity*, and promised to hear them benignly and favourably." The chancellor then presented the above address, to which the

king made a complying answer. The deputation then retired after a more than a most humble salutation.

This splendid piece of political mummery was conducted with all becoming gravity, and dispatched with no less activity. On the same day the commission passed the seals, and was presented next morning to the convocation at St. Paul's.

Ann had been formerly contracted to the duke of Lorraine, but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract was afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. This fact had been completely ascertained previous to Henry's marriage; he pleaded however this precontract as a ground of divorce, and he added, that when he espoused Ann, he had not *inwardly* consented to it; and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation, satisfied with these reasons, solemnly annulled the marriage; the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy, and the sentence was immediately notified to the princess by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Southampton. She was not so much affected as might have been expected; and when they told her that the king designed to declare her his adopted sister, to grant her 3000*l.* a year for her honourable support, and to give her precedency of all the ladies of the court, except his queen and daughters, she seemed to be perfectly satisfied. She even wrote to her brother, and her family, at Henry's desire, assuring them that she had been well used in England, where she resolved to remain, that she was perfectly pleased with her situation, and entreated them not to be offended at any thing that had happened.

The king's marriage with Catherine Howard probably followed soon after his divorce: it being celebrated privately, the exact date of it is not known; but she was presented to the whole court as queen on the 8th of August. Henry was so much charmed

with his new consort that he commanded his almoner to compose a form of thanksgiving to God for the felicity he now enjoyed, and on All Saints day, when he received the sacrament, he publicly gave thanks to God for the happy life he now led, and hoped to lead, with his beloved queen.

The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants who spoke against the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, while Henry exerted his violence against the catholics who denied his own supremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged.

Though the spirit of the English seemed totally sunk under Henry's tremendous despotism, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, which was soon suppressed, but it was the occasion of much bloodshed on the scaffold. The most illustrious of the victims was the aged countess of Salisbury, mother of cardinal Pole, and the last of the royal race of the Plantagenets,

*Ann. 1541.*

Henry apprehending an attack upon his territories in France, repairs the fortifications of Calais and Guines and strengthens the garrisons. He then sets out with his queen and court on a progress into the north, receives the submissions and considerable presents of money from the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, who wished to conciliate his favour, and efface the remembrance of their late conduct. The king and court of England remained twelve days at York, where James V. king of Scotland had agreed to have an interview with his majesty. But that

prince was persuaded by his clergy to stay at home, and Henry, irritated at this disappointment, returned into the south, fully determined on a war with Scotland.

While Henry, more and more captivated every day with the queen's accomplishments, thought his happiness as unalterable as it was complete; one John Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, and told him that his sister, formerly a servant to the duchess dowager of Norfolk, had given him a particular account of the queen's incontinence. Derham and Mannoc, both servants to the old duchess, had been admitted to Catherine's bed; and she had even taken so little care to conceal her shame, that three different female servants had frequently slept all night in the same bed with her and Derham. Mannoc discovered such an intimate knowledge of her person to some of his fellow servants, as he could not have obtained without the most criminal familiarity. Cranmer consulted the chancellor and the earl of Hertford. They all agreed that it was necessary to communicate this disagreeable information to the king, and that unpleasant task was laid upon the archbishop.

The king returned from the north in the end of October, took the sacrament on the 4th of November, and renewed his public thanks to God for the happiness he enjoyed with his queen. The very next day Cranmer had an audience of the king, and said not a word about the queen; but as he was taking his leave, he put into his majesty's hands the paper containing Lascelles's declaration. Henry, who was then in the height of his dotage upon the queen, at first exclaimed in rage that it was false, that it was impossible; but when observing more coolly how particular the information was, he resolved to make an enquiry, but in such a manner as

to give no alarm to the queen, and to raise no scandal. Lascelles was examined, and persisted in his former narrative. His sister confirmed every thing he had said, and added other circumstances and evidences. Upon this Derham and Mannoc were arrested and privately examined; when they found that all was discovered, they confessed the queen's guilt and their own, and gave still further information, by impeaching the old lady Rocheford, who had formerly been so instrumental in procuring the death of Ann Boleyn. They accused her of having introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bedroom, who stayed with her from eleven at night till four in the morning.

When all this was reported to the king he burst into tears, bitterly bewailing his unhappiness. The queen was now removed to Sion, but without any indication of unkindness or disgrace. There she was examined, and at first denied every thing; but when she saw that her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied any violation of her marriage vows. In this however she was not believed, as in the course of the inquiry, her criminal correspondence with Culpepper was ascertained. Besides she had procured a place at court for Derham, and taken into her service one of the women who had been accustomed to sleep with her and him. On these discoveries Derham and Culpepper were imprisoned, tried, found guilty, and executed December 10th at Tyburn. The queen and lady Rocheford were sent to the tower. The old duchess of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard, her uncle, and several other relations and servants of the family, were found guilty of misprision of treason, for concealing her vicious conduct, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. As to the queen, the king resolved to throw the odium of her

death upon the parliament, who had always been the ready ministers of all his severities.

The Bishoprics of Chester, Peterborough, Gloucester, and Oxford were founded by the king in the course of this year, as well as that of Westminster; but the latter continued only nine years.

*Ann. 1542.*

A new parliament met January 16th, and was opened by the chancellor with a very long speech, as full as usual of the most nauseous flattery on Henry's wisdom and virtues. Every time he was named in the speech, all the lords and commons bowed almost to the ground, to signify their approbation of the praises bestowed upon him.

This parliament was principally called to dispose of the queen, and they set about that business without delay. A bill of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and lady Rocheford for high treason, of the duchess of Norfolk, lord William Howard, and others, for misprision of treason, was brought into the house of peers, January 21st, and read a first time. The king did not seem to approve the mode of proceeding adopted by the house on that occasion, as the lord Chancellor acquainted them, January 31st, that a better method had occurred to the king's council, viz. to petition the king to grant his permission to them to proceed and finish the queen's cause, and that he would then give his royal assent, not in person, lest that should revive his sorrow, but by commission; *and that he would graciously pardon the members of his parliament, if in the course of this business any of them spoke disrespectfully of the queen.* This method was adopted of course, and next day, the chancellor reported to the house, that their petitions had been presented to the king, and that he had been graciously



pleased to grant them all. On the 11th of February the chancellor produced before both houses, the two acts of attainder, signed by the king as an evidence of his assent. The day after the queen and lady Rocheford were beheaded on a scaffold in the tower.

The act of attainder of the queen contained several curious clauses. By one of them, it was made high treason to conceal the incontinence of the queen for the time being. By another it was declared that if the king or any of his successors, should intend to marry any woman, believing her to be a clean and pure maid, and she not being so, did not reveal the same to the king, it should be high treason; and if any other person knew her not to be a maid and did not reveal it, it should be misprision of treason. By another, it was made high treason in the queen or prince's wife, to solicit by words or message to intrigue with them, and in any person in like manner to solicit them, and in all their confidants and abettors. (*Statutes, 33 Henry viii. c. 21.*) These indelicate and shameful laws were repealed in the first year of the succeeding reign.

The king sends an ambassador to the court of France, to propose a renewal of the perpetual treaty of peace and amity. The French ministry discovers no favourable dispositions; the negotiation degenerates into angry altercations. The ambassador perceiving that there could be no reliance on the friendship of France returns to England. The king of Scotland, desirous to avoid a war, sends ambassadors to the court of England, to pacify his uncle and regain his amity, but they meet with a very cold reception, and the army designed for an invasion of Scotland being now ready, Henry published a long declaration of war, in which he insisted at great length on several motives of complaint; but he

took care not to mention his real inducement to this war, which was to compel king James to give up his alliance with France, and enter into an intimate union with England.

The English army, twenty thousand men strong, entered Scotland on the 21st of October, burnt several villages with the town and abbey of Kelso, and eight days after returned to Berwick. As soon as the English retreated, the Scots prepared to invade England. King James, at the head of fifteen thousand men, advanced to Caerlaverock, where he remained; but when his troops arrived at Solway-Moss, and were ready to enter England, Oliver Sinclair, the king's hated minion, was proclaimed general, which threw the whole army into confusion, and it was ready to disband, when a small body of English appeared, and to their great surprise met with no resistance. The Scots immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed, but a great many were taken prisoners, with some of the principal nobility. On receiving this news, king James, who had lately discovered symptoms of a disordered imagination, became quite frantic, and soon after sank into a settled melancholy, of which he died December 14th, leaving an infant princess, only seven days old, heiress of his dominions.

As soon as Henry received this intelligence, he began to think of a marriage between his son the prince of Wales and the infant queen of Scotland; with this view he invited his prisoners to a royal feast at Hampton-court, where the project of the marriage was introduced. The king observing that it was approved by the Scots lords and gentlemen, proposed to give them their liberty on condition that they should promote the marriage with all their power, and give hostages for their return, if they proved unsuccessful. They joyfully accepted these

conditions ; visited the prince of Wales at Enfield on their journey homeward, and delivered their hostages to the duke of Suffolk at Newcastle.

*Ann. 1543.*

The bishopric of Bristol was founded by the king in the beginning of this year.

A treaty of perpetual peace and amity between the emperor and the king of England and their successors is concluded and signed by their plenipotentiaries, February 11th. By one article the two confederates agree to demand of the king of France, " that he should break off all intercourse with and recall his residents from Turkey ; that he should repay all the losses sustained by Christendom by the Turks, through his management ; that he should make peace with the emperor, in order that the latter may be able to defend Christendom ; and that he should immediately pay the king of England all the arrears of his perpetual pension, and give lands as a security for the regular payment of it in future." If the king of France did not comply with these conditions, which they were very sure he would not, they then agree to declare war against him, the emperor claiming Burgundy, and the king of England the crown of France ; and that they should not make peace but by mutual consent.

After the conclusion of this treaty both princes immediately prepared for war, and Henry held a session of parliament in order to obtain supplies. The parliament granted him a subsidy, to be paid in three years, and assessed in proportion with the value of the goods of each individual : the lowest rate per pound was four pence, and the highest three shillings ; all strangers, as well denizens as others, double the sum. The clergy of both pro-

vinces in convocation granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound of all the ecclesiastical revenues; to be paid in three years, and this grant was confirmed by an act of parliament.

A treaty of peace is concluded with Scotland, July 1st, as well as a treaty of marriage between the infant queen and the prince of Wales. It was agreed that Henry might send a nobleman with his lady and family, to reside with the queen, and assist in taking care of her health and education, and that when she was ten years of age she should be conducted to Berwick, and there delivered to such honourable persons as were appointed to receive her, but that the marriage should be solemnized by proxies before she left Scotland.

An act was passed in this session, January 22d, by which the liberty of reading the English bibles in the churches was taken away, and they were removed. None under the rank of gentlemen were permitted to have English bibles in their possession, or to read them in private; and the English people were to regulate their faith and practice by the injunctions published or to be published by the king. For the first offence they were to recant, for the second, to bear a faggot, and for the third, to be burnt. (*Statutes, 34 Henry viii. c. 1.*) Henry thus depriving his subjects of the use of scriptures in their own language, intended that the christian doctrines he himself might be pleased to adopt, should be the general laws of the church in England. As soon as the Parliament had declared in 1541, that all spiritual supremacy was vested in the king's person, he published a small volume, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. A committee of bishops and doctors was now appointed to prepare or revise a new compendium of religious instructions, which

was published May 29th, with this title, "*A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty.*" All the people of England were to regulate their faith and practice, by the contents of this royal publication, till the king thought proper to change his opinion, and then they were bound by an act of Parliament to make a similar change in their opinions. Henry soon after published a manual of prayers, which he strictly commanded all his subjects to use in their private devotions, prohibiting the use of any other prayers in their closets. This was called the king's primer book.

The king marries Catherine Par, widow of lord Latimer, July 12th, and thus confirms, what had been formerly foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow, as the late act of parliament had rendered him too dangerous a gallant for maiden ladies.

The campaign on the continent opens with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the Emperor. Francis makes himself master, without resistance, of the whole Duchy of Luxembourg, takes Landrecy, and adds new fortifications to it. Charles, having at last assembled a powerful army, takes almost every fortress in the Duchy of Cleves, and reduces the duke to accept of the terms he prescribes to him. Being joined by a body of six thousand English, he besieges Landrecy and covers the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advances with an army not much inferior, as if he intended to give battle or oblige the emperor to raise the siege, but while the two armies were facing each other, Francis found means of throwing succour into Landrecy and made a skilful retreat. As the season was far advanced the emperor found it necessary to go into winter quarters.

In the mean time affairs had taken a very unfavourable turn in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton had called a meeting of the clergy at St. Andrew's, to whom he represented that if the marriage of the queen with the prince of Wales was not prevented, they would be ruined: he obtained from them a great sum of money which he employed in encouraging his own partizans, and to gain some of the other party. The queen mother, though she made the fairest professions to the English ambassador, co-operated secretly both against the match with England, and against the governor Hamilton, whose weakness and irresolution gave the greatest advantage to his enemies. To keep him steady, Henry directed his ambassador to promise the princess Elizabeth in marriage to his son, lord Hamilton; but the queen and cardinal were more successful in the various arts they employed to rouse his fears. After wavering some time between the two parties, the governor resolved at last to abandon that which had raised him to the government, and would have supported him, and to throw himself into the hands of the other party, who made him many specious but fallacious promises. He publicly abjured the doctrines of the reformers, and put his son lord Hamilton into the cardinal's hands to be educated by him, or rather as a hostage for his own fidelity to his new engagements. The cardinal's party being thus strengthened by the accession of the governor and such of his friends who followed him, he proceeded to the coronation of the infant queen, September 9th, when she was only about ten months old.

Henry being informed of it plainly perceived that the predominant party were in the interest of France and Rome, and would not fulfil the treaty of marriage unless they were compelled to it. He resolved therefore to renew the war, and began by seizing all

the Scotch ships in the ports of England, and by encouraging the English borderers to make incursions into Scotland. These measures inflamed the rage of the Scots to such a degree, that the whole nation were almost unanimously against the marriage and peace with England. This disposition of the people encouraged the governor to call a parliament, which declared December 11th, that Henry had violated the treaty of peace, on consideration of which the treaty of marriage between their queen and the prince of Wales had been agreed on ; " therefore, my lord governor and the three estates in parliament have declared, and do declare, the said treaties to be expired, and not to be kept in time coming, on the part of Scotland, by law, equity, and reason." (*Register of Parliament, fol. 103.*)

On the same day two ambassadors from the king of France appeared in parliament, sent, as they said, to renew all the ancient treaties between France and Scotland, to make new ones, and to offer them assistance against the king of England. The parliament appointed the cardinal, the earls of Argyle and Murray, lord St. John, and sir Adam Otterburn to treat with these ambassadors for renewing the old and making a new alliance between the two nations.

*Ann. 1544.*

The king assembles his parliament January 14th, to be provided with the necessary supplies for a war against both France and Scotland. A bill is passed a few days after for confirming the change of the king's title from lord of Ireland to king of Ireland. Another bill settles, February 9th, the rule of succession to the crown : 1st, on Edward prince of Wales and his lawful issue : 2d, on the king's issue

by his present or any future queen : 3d, on the princess Mary and her lawful issue : 4th, on the princess Elizabeth and her lawful issue ; and failing all these, on such as the king pleased to appoint by letters patent or by his last will.

No subsidy was granted in this session, as no demand was made for it ; but an act was passed to release the king from all obligation to pay any sum of money he had borrowed on the security of privy seals ; and if all or any part of these sums had been paid by the king, it was to be refunded, or if any person had sold his privy seal to another, he was to restore the price. This act was undoubtedly a gross violation of the first and plainest principles of justice, as it may be easily conceived that from the first act of that kind that had been passed, these loans were far from being voluntary, therefore it could not be supposed that this measure had any tendency to prevent or invalidate all loans contracted by government without being sanctioned by parliament.

The more Henry's despotism grew inveterate, the more he disliked parliamentary forms, especially in all cases wherein he could not command and was obliged to demand ; very few parliaments would have been called in the latter part of his reign, had he not ever found in them the most passive and servile instruments of his will and caprices. This accounts for his not making any demand of subsidy in this session ; but as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he found other means of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects ; he enhanced gold from forty-five to forty-eight shillings an ounce, and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings, under the pretence of preventing the money from being exported. He even coined some base money and



ordered it to be current. He named commissioners levying a benevolence, by which expedient he extorted about seventy thousand pounds. Read, an old alderman of London, having refused to contribute, was inrolled as a foot soldier in the Scottish wars and taken prisoner. Some others, equally refractory, were thrown into prison, and did not obtain their liberty without paying a large composition.

Henry being sufficiently provided with money opened the campaign by a formidable invasion of Scotland. His army, commanded by the earl of Hertford, finding no resistance, plundered and burnt the towns, villages, gentlemen's seats, ruined the richest part of the country, and after having done an incredible mischief being weary with destroying, and loaded with booty, they returned to Leith, where they had landed, burnt that place, demolished the mole, embarked May 15th, and set sail. But the expedition, far from promoting the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of the prince of Wales with the young princess of Scotland, rendered it nearly desperate.

The operations in Scotland were soon followed by Henry's expedition into France, in consequence of the plan that had been settled between him and the emperor. He sent his army to the continent in three divisions, and went himself with a numerous train of nobles on board a beautiful ship, whose sails were of cloth of gold, and landed July 14th, at Calais, where he spent nearly two months. He then joined the two divisions of his army before Boulogne, which soon after surrendered on honourable terms.

Francis I. sensible that he could not long contend against two such powerful adversaries as the emperor and the king of England, endeavoured to disunite them, and made application to each of them for a separate peace. His ambassadors arrived at a castle near the English camp, where they opened a negotiation,

which was only intended to conceal a more serious one that was carried on with great secrecy by a dominican friar with the emperor, and terminated September 19th, in a separate peace between Charles and Francis, without the least regard to the king of England. The French ambassadors immediately broke off their conferences and retired. The duke of Norfolk, who besieged Montreuil in conjunction with the imperial troops, being abandoned by them, was obliged to raise the siege and join the king's army at Boulogne. In the mean time the dauphin was advancing by forced marches to attack them. Henry, sensible of the danger to which he was exposed by the unexpected perfidy of his ally, embarked at Boulogne, September 30th, leaving the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to conduct the remains of his army to Calais, where they went, October 9th, and sailed for England. Thus ended a campaign, which, at its opening threatened France with the greatest calamities.

The primate Cranmer being a zealous friend to the reformation, the catholic party, and particularly the Bishop of Winchester and the duke of Norfolk, had long conceived a violent hatred against him and meditated his ruin. They accordingly waited upon the king about this time, and bitterly complained that "the primate and his learned men had so infected the whole realm with their unsavory doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable heretics; therefore they desired that the archbishop might be committed to the tower until he might be examined." As the king seemed very unwilling to grant their demand, they supported it by many strong arguments, till at length the king consented that they might examine the archbishop before the council next morning, and, if they found cause, commit him to the tower. About midnight, Henry sent a messenger to the archbishop desiring

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him to come and speak with him immediately. On his arriving the king informed him of what had taken place. Cranmer humbly thanked his majesty for his kind warning, and was content to be committed to the tower for the trial of his doctrine, provided he might have a fair trial. "No, my lord, not so," said the king, "I have a better regard for you than to suffer your enemies to overthrow you, which they would easily do, by procuring three or four false knaves to witness against you, and condemn you. Appear before the council, require them to produce your accusers, and if they refuse, shew them this ring (giving him a ring), which they well know that I use for no other purpose but to call matters from the council into my own hands."

The primate was sent for by the council early next morning, and when he arrived he was not admitted before having stood an hour in the anti-chamber among servants. The king being informed of it was much offended. "Have they served my lord so?" said he; "it is well enough, I shall talk with them by and by." When Cranmer was called in to the council, and required to see his accusers face to face before he was committed, he was refused. He then presented them the ring, which put a stop to all proceedings. They waited in a body on the king, who received them with a stern countenance, reproved them severely for their contemptuous treatment of the primate; and then added, "I would you should well understand, that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God, (laying his hand on his heart); and whoever loves me, will regard him on that account." This gave such a check to Cranmer's enemies, that they made no more attempts against him during this reign.

This instance of apparent justice, friendship, gratitude, the only one perhaps that occurred during the whole reign of Henry, was highly extolled by his base adulators, but it was considered on a very different aspect by those who knew that Cranmer, on account of his great learning and abilities, was the real author of that reformation so much boasted of by Henry as his own work, though the part he had acted in it was that only which could suit the rash violence of his temper, the fittest of all characters to destroy every thing, the most unfit of all to create or produce any thing good; besides that, the doctrines, regulations, instructions, and prayer books, subscribed and published by Henry for the use of his new-modelled church, were all composed by Cranmer, and therefore that the king in interfering so powerfully to save his life, had been actuated only by the consciousness that the primate was his chief and most necessary instrument in religious matters, and without which he was incapable of doing any thing.

*Ann. 1545.*

The dauphin makes several unsuccessful attempts to take Boulogne by surprise, and leaves the Marshal de Bièz to harass the garrison and protect the workmen employed in building a fort at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the admission of supplies from England; but the earl of Hertford attacked him with a small army, and compelled him to retire to a greater distance.

Henry preparing for another campaign, recurs again to the illegal method of levying benevolences, and appoints commissioners in all parts of the kingdom, to persuade or rather to compel the king's loving subjects to make him a free gift.

Francis collects a fleet of two hundred sail at

**Havre de Grace.** An army embarked on board this fleet, which was commanded by admiral d'Annebaut, arrived at St. Helen's July 18th, cannonaded the English fleet in Portsmouth road, and landed some troops in the Isle of Wight, which re-embarked after skirmishing some days with the militia of the country. Henry had taken into his pay ten thousand lansquenets, and four thousand horses, levied in Germany; but the emperor refused them a passage through his territories, a disappointment which obliged Henry to remain on the defensive all this campaign.

The interest of money was fixed at ten per cent.; and if any person took more, he was to forfeit three times the sum lent, the one half to the king and the other to the informer. (37 *Henry VIII. c. 9.*)

In the beginning of June the Scots raise an army of fifteen thousand men, and being reinforced by their French auxiliaries, amounting to three thousand foot and five hundred horse, commanded by Montgomery, lord of Lorges; they march to the Tweed, and send some flying parties to plunder the English borders; but the French commander urging them to invade England in a body, they disband and return home. After their retreat the earl of Hertford with twelve thousand men, enters Scotland and plunders the Merse.

The produce of the late benevolences, though considerable, being insufficient for the expences of the war, and for all other Henry's wants, he summoned a parliament November 23d, who granted him a subsidy of two shillings and eightpence on goods, and four shillings in the pound on land, to be paid in two years. The clergy in convocation granted him likewise six shillings in the pound of their benefices, and the grant was confirmed by parliament. He obtained besides from the liberal obsequiousness of this parliament another extraor-

dinary grant, of much more importance. After the dissolution of the monasteries there remained a great number of colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and other fraternities of secular priests, endowed with lands, rents, and stipends, for saying a certain number of masses for the souls of their founders and their families. Henry had tried to prevail on the possessors of these foundations to surrender their endowments to the crown, and he had got by that means the possession of twenty-four of them. But that dilatory way could not long suit his temper. The parliament at one blow dissolved them all, and gave their houses, lands, and goods of every kind to the king. This session was prorogued on December 24th, when the king, after many strong professions of extraordinary love for all his subjects, thanked very affectionately both houses for all their grants, which he valued, (said he,) more for their love from which they had proceeded, than for the money they would bring, and assured them that he would make a better use of that money than they could either imagine or desire.

*Ann. 1546, 1547.*

The military operations of the year 1546 consisted in frequent skirmishes between the French and the English, in one of which the latter sustained a considerable loss, and were put to flight. Henry and Francis were now so heartily tired of the war, that a treaty of peace between them was concluded June 7th, in which it was stipulated, among other conditions, that Francis should pay to Henry and his successors the pensions due by former treaties; that Henry should keep possession of Boulogne eight years without molestation, at the end of which he should receive from Francis two millions of crowns, as the arrears of pensions and the expence of keep-

ing up and repairing the fortifications of Boulogne, and that when that sum was paid the king of England should surrender Boulogne to the king of France. The Scots were included in the treaty, and Henry engaged not to make war upon them, if they did not give him some new provocation.

Henry growing more and more corpulent for several years, was now become very unwieldy and dropsical; an ulcer had besides broken out in one of his legs, to which the humours of the body flowed, and gave him great uneasiness, which rendered him more than usually peevish and passionate. To this diseased irritability the queen, who attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, had almost fallen a sacrifice. His favourite topic of conversation was theology, and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, had unwarily ventured to raise objections against his arguments, and betrayed her secret inclination to the principles of the reformers. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the chancellor Wriothesly, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity of inflaming his anger, by representing the queen as a most dangerous heretic. Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and by the insinuations of his counsellors, went so far as to direct the chancellor to draw up articles of impeachment against her, which he signed. This important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. Sensible of the extreme danger which threatened her, she found in her prudence and address the means of eluding it. She paid next morning her usual visit to the king, and found him disposed to enter again on the same subject; he even seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. But she modestly declined the conversation, saying, that it did not

become her, a weak woman, to dispute with one who by his superior learning was entitled to dictate, not only to her, but to the whole world; and that if ever she had ventured to object to any thing he advanced, it was for the sake of her own instruction, and to engage him into topics which diverted his pains, and from which she had observed by frequent experience that she reaped great profit. This seasonable piece of flattery suddenly revived his affection. He embraced her tenderly, and assured her of his constant favour and protection. Soon after this, when they were walking in the garden, the chancellor entered, followed by a numerous escort, to seize the queen and carry her to the tower; but the king advanced to meet him, and after treating him very roughly, calling him knave, fool, and beast, he commanded him to be gone. The queen interposing in his favour, Henry answered, smiling, "Poor soul! you know not how little this man deserves your good offices."

Henry's jealous and tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, burst out soon after against the duke of Norfolk, who during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subject in the kingdom, and had rendered considerable service to the crown. From the favours heaped on him, he had acquired an immense estate. The king had successively been married to two of his nieces, and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter. But these very circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, raised the anxious jealousy of Henry about the danger which, during his son's minority, were to be apprehended from the attempts of so potent a subject, both against public tranquillity and the new ecclesiastical system. But Henry's displeasure was still more violent against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman, since the menacing expression



he had been so imprudent as to drop, when after some unfortunate rencontres with the French at Boulogne, the earl of Hertford had been sent over to command in his place. Private orders were accordingly issued December 7th, to arrest the duke and his son, and confine them in the tower.

The earl of Surrey, being a commoner, was tried at Guildhall January 13th, 1557, before the chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners, by a jury of commoners; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown during this whole reign. Surrey was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who *were suspected to be suspicious spies*; a servant of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *suspected* of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate. On these accusations, framed in the very style which has been since employed in France by the revolutionary tribunals of Robespierre, Surrey was found guilty of high treason, and was beheaded on January 19th. The day before, a bill for attainting the duke of Norfolk had been brought to the house of peers, and read a first time; in the two following days it was read a second and a third time, and sent to the commons, from whom it was returned on the 24th. The bill received the royal assent by commission on the 27th, and the next day early in the morning the king died; his death saved the duke of Norfolk, as it was not thought proper to begin the new reign with an execution of the first nobleman in the kingdom.

Henry, by his last will, dated December 30th, confirmed the order of succession lately settled by the act of parliament which had been passed February 7th, 1544; but he obliged the two princesses his daughters, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without consent of

the council which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on the marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter of his sister the French queen, then on the countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he exercised the power granted by the act of parliament above mentioned; but as he subjoined that after the failure of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, the Scottish line having not been explicitly excluded, was eventually entitled to it. He left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory, though the last year he had destroyed all such foundations, and appropriated to himself all the rents and possessions belonging to them, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith he had promulgated during his late years.

Henry was six times married. Two of his queens were beheaded, two were divorced, one died soon after her marriage, possessed of her husband's affection; the last narrowly escaped the block and survived him. By his first queen, Catherine of Spain, he had two sons, who died in their infancy, and one daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of England. By his second queen, Ann Boleyn, he had only a daughter, the illustrious Elizabeth, who succeeded her sister Mary on the throne. By his third queen, Jane Seymour, he had a son, named Edward, his immediate successor. He had no issue by his three last queens. By one of his mistresses, Elizabeth Blount, he had a natural son, named Henry, of whom he was exceedingly fond. Before he was seven years of age he made him knight of the garter, created him earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, appointed him warden of the marches towards Scotland, and granted him many great

estates. Henry died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months.

The only way to form an exact idea of his character, is to consult his actions, and the principal transactions of his reign ; as what he was is necessarily evinced with more certainty from what he did, than from any reasoning or dissertation, even the most impartial.

All historians agree, that Henry was in his youth uncommonly handsome, an advantage much more precious for a prince than for any other individual, as his high rank rendering it more conspicuous, it never fails to prepossess the minds of the people with the most favourable dispositions. Thence arose the great expectations of the English nation at the beginning of Henry's reign. They were not deceived in the twelve first years, which may be compared to the *Quinquennium Neronis*. Henry being naturally strong, dexterous, and active, he delighted and excelled in all manly exercises, and was endowed with great courage and intrepidity. Though often duped by the duplicity of others, he never deviated from his native candour and openness. He was far from being deficient in understanding, and spoke fluently several languages. These exterior accomplishments, as well as his magnificence and personal bravery, captivated the multitude, and gained him a popularity, which he would have deserved and retained for ever, had not these amiable qualities so often been obscured, and even annihilated, by the intractable violence of his passions, the impetuosity of his temper, his obstinacy, arrogance, presumption, injustice, and rapacity. His profusion was likewise beyond all idea ; but this vice was perhaps more beneficial to his country than the opposite virtue would have been. If Henry VIII. had been so strict an economist as his father, if he had hoard-

ed so carefully the enormous sums he extorted from his subjects, and entirely applied to the expences of government the immense revenue and possessions of the clergy ; parliament not being necessary for obtaining supplies no longer wanted, it is far from being improbable that the meetings of these assemblies might have soon become as obsolete as were those of the *etats generaux* in France in the two last centuries previous to the revolution. Henry himself had already began to summon the parliament only twice in fourteen years, and probably would not have hesitated to prolong still further the intervals between the sessions, had he not found in those assemblies, such as they were composed of at that time, the most subservient and expeditious instruments of his despotism, the most arbitrary and tyrannical that was ever endured by any civilized nation. The election of the members of these parliaments was however as free as possible ; no party spirit interfered ; neither the king or his ministers ever tried, or even meant to have any influence upon the votes ; there existed no rotten boroughs ; the parliaments, far from being septennial were frequently dissolved after one or two sessions, which were so short, that by computing the whole time of the sitting of the ten parliaments and twenty-three sessions summoned under Henry's reign, it does not exceed three years and a half, nor amount to a twelvemonth for the first twenty years. But the worst of all was that no remedy, no reform whatsoever could at that period extenuate the servile submission of those parliaments to all the caprices and violences of the monarch, as it must be acknowledged that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that like Eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those very acts of tyranny which were exercised over themselves. Therefore it is not to be wondered at constituents in such dispositions having such representatives, nor

at the enormous abuse Henry made of the unlimited power of which he was so overloaded, owing to the shameful obsequiousness of his parliaments, that he was at a loss to determine what he would be pleased to do with it. Thence the little attention he paid to consistency in framing his rigorous statutes, which are so full of contradictions, that had they been strictly executed, every man, without exception, must have fallen under the penalty of treason, as by one of them (28. c. 7.) to assert the validity of his two first marriages, was declared treason. If admitting the invalidity of the two marriages, it was inferred from it that the princess Mary and Elizabeth were spurious, it was likewise declared treason; and whoever refused to answer upon oath to any of these delicate points, was subjected to the same penalties. (34, 35. c. 1.) Therefore a profound silence on these questions was no less dangerous than any answer either affirmative or negative. Holinshed asserts that no less than seventy-two thousand criminals, or pretended to be so, were executed during this reign, which amounts nearly to two thousand a year. It is easy to conceive how such a tyrant, so deservedly styled *metuendissimus*, could be, while alive, adulated to the most disgusting degree; but if we are to believe the journals of the house of lords, January 31st, 1547, never was the death of a good king more lamented by his subjects. "*Quæ mors dici non potest quam erat luctuosa omnibus, et tristis auditu. Cancellarius vero ipse vix potuit præ lacrymis effari.*" The Asiatic veneration and prostration, which was shown to this king, appears by an entry in the same journals, January 16th, 1541, "*Ecce regia majestas purpuream togam induta splendide in theatrum (the house of lords) venit et per medium transiens, assurgentibus omnibus, cum admirabili dignitate in solium ascendit et resedit. Cancellarius dein omnes presentes admonuit qualem*

*habeant principem quam bonum, quam sapientem, quam circumspectum et per omnia fortunatum; adeo ut in progressu orationis, quoties venerat mentio regię majestatis, (id quod sæpe accidit) illico ad unum omnes humi sese tantum non prosternerent.* Many enthusiasts have bestowed on him the greatest praises on account of the reformation, though he was neither the author nor the founder, but the primary cause or rather the occasion of it. But without entering into the merits or demerits of the reformation, it may be observed with truth, that Henry, the most zealous believer and *defender of the catholic faith*, a title which he would never abdicate, lived and died in the same persuasion; that he never intended to change or reform the religion but only to change the pope or compel him to approve or confirm his first divorce; that on breaking all connexion with the see of Rome, he knew perfectly that he would be called a schismatic, and did not care for it, and in short, that he would have burnt as heretics all the converts to the present creed of the protestant church, of which the primate Cranmer was the real author and promoter, who was accordingly burnt as an heretic, March 21st, 1557, under the reign of queen Mary.

It was not till the end of this reign that any salads, carrots, turnips, and other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a salad was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at about one shilling or fifteen pence of the present money; and a statute was passed (24 *Henry VIII.* c. 3.) which ordered beef and pork to be sold at a half-penny a pound,

mutton and veal at a half-penny half-farthing ; *these four species of butcher's meat*, says the preamble of the statute, being the food of the poorer sort.

EDWARD VI. twenty-first King from the Conquest.

[Son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, born October 12th, 1537, ascended the throne January 28th, 1547 ; crowned February 20th following ; died of a consumption at Greenwich July 6, 1553, and was buried at Westminster, and succeeded by his sister Mary.]

*Ann. 1547.*

EDWARD VI. was only nine years and a few months old when he ascended the throne. His majority was fixed at the complement of his eighteenth year by the will of the late king, who had intrusted to sixteen executors the government of the kingdom during the minority, and had appointed twelve counsellors to assist the executors with their advice on the affairs laid before them. At the first meeting of this council, it was suggested that the dignity of the government required a head who might represent the royal dignity, receive and answer addresses from foreign ambassadors, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations. The chancellor opposed the proposal as an infringement of the late king's will ; but his opposition being unsupported, the executors agreed to name a protector, and the choice fell on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, and could have no claim to inherit the crown, had

no interest which might lead him to endanger Edward's safety or authority. A proclamation informed the public of this change in the administration.

The next measure of the executors was a new creation of peers according to Henry's last will and verbal promises, proved by a regular inquiry. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal and lord treasurer; Wriothesley the chancellor, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, and sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron.

The protector was closely attached to the reformation, and the chancellor had always been engaged in the opposite party. The latter having put the great seal in commission, and appointed four lawyers to execute in his absence the office of chancellor; complaints were made against it to the council, who, influenced by the protector, consulted the judges, whose opinion was that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had forfeited the great seal and was even liable to punishment. Wriothesley being summoned to appear before the council, maintained that he could not lose his office without a trial in parliament; the council however declared that he had forfeited the great seal, that a fine should be imposed upon him, and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure.

Coronation of the king, February 19th; a general pardon is issued at the same time, out of which the duke of Norfolk, cardinal la Pole, Edward Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, and three others, are excluded.

Somerset, on pretence that the vote of the executors choosing him protector, was not a sufficient



foundation for his authority, procured a patent from the young king, which conferred on him nearly the whole of the royal power, and in pursuance of which he appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors and executors, the chancellor only excepted. He reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure; and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper: he was also empowered to act at discretion with his council and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service.

The treaty of peace between the late king and Francis I. had been ratified in London, but Francis died, March 31st, without having signed the ratification, and his successor Henry II. refused to ratify it.

Henry's demise had revived the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics; the former had a powerful support in the protector, who openly discovered his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the new doctrines. All the persons he intrusted with the king's education, were attached to the same principles, and he was himself directed by the counsels of the primate Cranmer, who being a man of prudence and great learning, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations to the system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the best. The majority of the persons who composed the council, appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the monasteries, and had the prospect of pillaging the secular as they had already done the regular clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome.

The chief opposer to the reformation was Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who was intitled by his age,

experience and capacity, to the highest confidence of his party. He recommended the prudence of persevering, at least till the king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model established by the late king, of whom he continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning still generally and sincerely revered by the nation. He insisted on the use of images, of holy water, and above all that the laws ought to be observed, and the constitution preserved inviolate. But an act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power, and royal proclamations even during a minority had the force of laws. The protector considered himself as intitled by this statute to appoint a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England. The visitors, consisting of a mixture of clergy and laity, had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to retain for the present all images which had not been abused to idolatry, and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles in order to drive away the devil. It was about this time that the French reformer Calvin wrote to Cranmer, offering his services towards framing the new rules for the English church, but the archbishop discouraged the overture. Calvin had better success in his address to Somerset, and gaining his favour; his advice had considerable weight in the revision of the liturgy, which in a short time was brought forward.

As soon as the state was brought to some composure, the protector made preparations for war with Scotland, intending to execute, if possible, the project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, which

the late king had so earnestly recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of eighteen thousand men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, of which he gave the command to lord Clinton. Before he opened the campaign, he published a manifesto, in which he explained his intention to be amicable to both kingdoms, declaring at the same time that no negotiation should be entered into on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward. But he soon perceived that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion precluded all hopes of any negotiation on the basis of the intended marriage. He therefore marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwick, passed the borders at Berwick, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, when he was informed that the governor of Scotland had summoned the whole force of the kingdom, and taken post on advantageous ground, with an army double in number to that of the English. He took a view of their camp with the earl of Warwick, and finding it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success, he wrote to the governor, and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all damages, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she had reached the age of choosing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was considered by the Scots as the effect of fear or distress. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, and forced him to a battle at Pinkey or Musselburgh, where they were completely defeated. There fell not two hundred of the English, and according to the most moderate computation, ten thousand of the Scots were slain and fifteen hundred taken prisoners.

Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scots; but having heard that some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying cabals against him, he retired from Scotland and hastened to London. On his arrival, he summoned a parliament November 4th, and as a reward for his success in Scotland, he obtained from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool, or bench, at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honour and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood or uncle to the kings of England.

If the protector gave offence by thus gratifying his vanity, he deserved great praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the most obnoxious and tyrannic statutes of Henry VIII. were repealed, particularly that which gave to the king's proclamations the force of law, and those which had extended the crime of treason, the cases of which were reduced to the ancient standard of the 25th of Edward III. It was also enacted that all who denied the king's supremacy, or maintained that of the pope, should, for their first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure: for the second offence should incur the penalty of a premunire; and for the third, be attainted of treason. Whoever, after the 1st of March ensuing, would attempt by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp one another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders, and abettors.

*Ann. 1548.*

Orders are issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday ; and that all images should be removed from the churches. As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion service, and in the preface, which the council prefixed to this work, they left the practice of the auricular confession wholly indifferent.

The more progress the reformation made in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all probability of completing the union with Scotland. His late victory at Pinkey had served only to irritate the nation, and to inspire them with the strongest aversion to an union so violently courted. Even those who were inclined to the English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed on them by force of arms. "I don't dislike the match," said pleasantly the earl of Huntley, "but I hate the manner of wooing." The queen dowager, taking advantage of this disposition, called a parliament, where it was determined to send the young queen to France ; she was accordingly committed to Villegainon, who, with four galleys, found a passage round the Orkneys to Dunbarton, where the princess embarked and arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris and soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

While the protector was busily employed against the Scots, who, supported by France, still pushed on their inroads with unremitting animosity ; Seymour, his own brother, renewed his machinations against him. Actuated by an insatiable ambition and the most violent jealousy, he endured very impatiently the superiority of rank and credit which Somerset had obtained, and the two brothers divided the

whole court and kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Seymour by his flattery and address had so fascinated the queen dowager, that she married him immediately after the king's demise, and by her riches and credit this alliance proved a great support to his ambition. A few months after she died in child bed; but, far from considering this loss as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He paid his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, then sixteen years of age, and had he persevered, it is not unlikely that, possessed as he was of every proper talent and artifice to captivate the fair, he would not have been quite unsuccessful. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never expect to obtain, he adopted other measures. He had already succeeded in gaining the favour of the young king, with whom he held a private correspondence. He then began openly to censure his brother's administration; by presents and promises he seduced into his interests many of the principal nobility; he imprudently boasted of the number of men he could muster on occasion, and had already provided arms for their use. Somerset, alarmed at these circumstances, tried at first by the most friendly means to persuade his brother to give up all his suspicious schemes; but finding all endeavours ineffectual, he recurred to more severe measures, and was induced to it by the instigations of the crafty Warwick, who meant the destruction of both the brothers, to raise his own fortune on their ruin. The protector, after depriving Seymour of the office of admiral, signed a warrant to commit him to the tower, with some of his accomplices; and three privy counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report that they had met with important dis-

coveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and shewed a disposition to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation, and be contented with a private life. But as Seymour made no other answer than menaces and defiances, a charge was drawn up against him, and a session of parliament being summoned, it was resolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder.

*Ann. 1549.*

The bill of attainder against Seymour passed in both houses March 20th, and he was soon beheaded on Tower Hill.

The committee of bishops and divines, appointed by the council to compose a liturgy, had accomplished their work, in which they retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin ; but as the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the scriptures, was more conformable to the genius of their sect, this innovation, with the suppression of prayers to saints, was the difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The parliament ordained this form of worship, and a uniformity in all the rites and ceremonies to be observed in all the churches. The marriage of the priests was permitted, but the use of meat during Lent and other times of abstinence, continued to be forbidden. Thus the reformation, such as it is at present, was almost completely settled. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion service, and the abolition of several ancient rites, was still adhered to by the people, and was the last doctrine of the catholic church that was wholly abandoned.

The spirit of persecution soon began to prevail

among the reformers. A commission was granted by council to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemnners of the common prayer book, and in the execution of this charge they were not bound to observe the ordinary forms of trial, even any statutes interfering with their powers were overruled and abrogated by the council. A woman and a Dutchman, accused of heresy, and who were so pertinacious that Cranmer's arguments would make no impression upon them, were both committed to the flames. Edward long refused to sign the warrant for their execution, and when, overcome by importunity, he submitted, he told Cranmer, with tears in his eyes, that the guilt, if there was any, should lie entirely on his head. The Princess Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to comply with the new modes of worship.

This was a year of commotion throughout England. The suppression of so many monasteries, had reduced prodigious numbers of monks to earn their subsistence by their labour; so that all kinds of manual works were overstocked. The lands of their monasteries, formerly farmed out to common people at low rents, which enabled them to maintain their families, being now possessed by the nobility, the rents were considerably raised. The farmer, finding that wool was a more profitable commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture, in consequence of which the price of meal rose, to the unspeakable hardship of the poor. In the mean time, the rich proprietors of lands inclosed their estates, and turned out the tenants as an useless burthen; the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were equally reduced to misery. The loud complaints excited by so many grievances were soon heard in every quarter. The protector, who pitied the condition of the people,



encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to suppress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning inclosures, and issued a proclamation, ordering that the late inclosures should be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, rose in great numbers in several places, and began to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances. In order to give them greater satisfaction Somerset appointed new commissioners with an unlimited power to determine all differences about inclosures, highways, and cottages. This commission raised a general outcry against him from the nobility and gentry, while the common people, impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, and rose at once in arms in several parts of England, as if a general conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. In some parishes the ringleaders succeeded in giving their discontent a direction towards religion. Their demands were that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. The council answered haughtily; commanded the rebels to disperse, promising them pardon upon their immediate submission. The insurgents, enraged, and too far advanced to recede, laid siege to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, and other implements from their churches. The citizens of Exeter shut and defended their gates; the rebels were repulsed in every attempt, and soon driven from all their posts by the king's troops, commanded by lord Russel, lord Gray, and sir William Herbert, who did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit, and took a considerable number of prisoners. The leaders were sent to London, tried and executed; many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law.

The insurrection in Norfolk was still more alarming, and attended with greater acts of violence. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. The marquis of Northampton, who was first sent against them, met with a repulse. The earl of Warwick followed soon after at the head of six thousand men, and coming to a general engagement put them to the rout, and succeeded in completely suppressing the insurrection. This important success considerably increased the authority and credit of Warwick, and accelerated Somerset's ruin. Of all the ministers of Edward, Warwick was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. No man knew better than him how to conceal the most criminal views under the fairest appearances. Resolved at any rate to hold the first place under the king, and of course to overthrow Somerset, he formed against him a strong party in the council, who could not bear the control assumed over them by the protector, and among the nobility and gentry, who hated him for the popular part he had acted in the late disturbances, and ascribed all the insults to which they had been exposed, to the countenance he had shewn to the multitude. The catholic party, who retained a great influence over the lower ranks, were likewise his declared enemies, on account of his zeal in forwarding the reform.

The intended revolution being thus prepared, lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counsellors, met at Ely house, and assuming the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote to the chief nobility and gentry to require their assistance. They summoned the mayor

and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their commands without regard to any orders they might receive from the protector. The lieutenant of the tower received the same injunctions, and promised to comply with them. The council informed the public by proclamations of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they accused the protector of having usurped the whole authority, and proceeded to that height of presumption as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him, upon which he and some of his friends were sent to the tower with the consent of the king, who never much cared for him.

Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, announced his intention of supporting the reformation, the principles of which had made too deep an impression on Edward's mind to be easily eradicated. A parliament was held November 4th, and passed a vote, by which Somerset, who had confessed all the articles of charge against him, was deprived of all his offices, and fined two thousand pounds a year in land. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king, he recovered his liberty, and Warwick thinking that he was sufficiently humbled, readmitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son with a daughter of Somerset's. Happy for him if his ambition had not revived with his security!

A severe law was passed against the riots. It was enacted, that if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state,

and being required by a lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason; if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up poles about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony; any attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty.

The bishops complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law, the parliament empowered the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid though never ratified by parliament.

*Ann. 1550, 1551.*

Plenipotentiaries are sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate a peace with France. Henry II. refuses to pay the two millions of crowns which Francis I. had acknowledged to be due to England, but offers a sum for the restitution of Boulogne; four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty.

About the beginning of this year Bishop Ridley was appointed to the sees of London and Westminster, now for the first time united in one see. A new review of the liturgy was made about this time, with the intention of altering some parts therein, which might press upon tender consciences.

Several prelates being still addicted to the catholic communion, retarded as much as they safely could the execution of the new laws, and countenanced negligent or refractory incumbents; therefore it was determined to depose them, which was the more easy that all of them had been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared that they held their

sees during the king's pleasure. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to terrify the others. He had been enjoined to introduce in a sermon the duty of obedience to the king, even during his minority ; and for having neglected this topic, he and Bonner, the bishop of London, had been thrown into prison, and there detained during two years. Several articles to subscribe were presented to him at three different times, and some were found at last with which he refused to comply, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months, and a commission was appointed for his trial, or rather for his condemnation. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, as not being founded on any statute or precedent ; he even appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not admitted, and a sentence was passed by which he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody ; his books and papers were seized, and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages. The bishops of Chichester, Worcester, and Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics on pretence of disobedience ; even those of Landaff, Salisbury, and Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to buy protection of the rapacious courtiers by the sacrifice of the most considerable revenues of their sees ; nor did these plunderers think it beneath them to pillage the university libraries, and that of Westminster, in pursuance of an order issued by council, under pretence of purging the libraries of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes. Irreparable mischief was done in the Oxford libraries. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction ; those of divinity for their rich bindings, those of literature as useless, and those of geome-

try and astronomy as containing nothing but necromancy.

To please the people Warwick now began a strict inquiry against those who had mismanaged the royal revenues, and he fined them without mercy, though among the defaulters were some of his own partizans. Lord Arundel in particular was amerced twelve thousand pounds; Sir John Tynne, six thousand pounds; and four others three thousand pounds each.

Great endeavours were used to deprive the princess Mary of the liberty of having mass said in her own palace. She stoutly resisted, and appealed to the emperor her cousin, who interfered in her favour, at first with some effect. Her behaviour was for some time overlooked; but her two chaplains being thrown into prison, she listened eagerly to a plan formed for her escape to the Netherlands. This was prevented, though not before a vessel was hired in Flanders to hover on the coast of England, and convey her across the channel. Edward, whose youth was an excuse for his childish bigotry, wept bitterly at being forced to permit the mass to be said any where within his realm. But Mary smiled at his command. "Good sweet king," she used to say, "he is not a fit judge in these matters."

The fervent zeal of the council for the reformation, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts; they even found leisure to attend occasionally to the public interest and to the commerce of the nation, which was far from being at that time the object of general study or attention. The traders of the Hans Towns had long enjoyed a lucrative station in London. They had fostered the avidity of the sovereign by advancing loans of money, and the indolence of the merchant and mechanic, by finding an immediate vent

for his manufactures. As these men paid no more duty than one per cent, were buyers and sellers, brokers and carriers, for none but Hanseatic vessels were employed in the traffic, their profits were immense. But during the short-lived ministry of Warwick, the Hanseatic privileges were at last declared to be forfeited, and a duty of twenty per cent. was put upon all their imports and exports.

About the same time a treaty was made with the king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated among other conditions, that if he sent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom, and that he should carry bullion to no other prince.

Warwick obtains, or rather procures to himself a grant of the vast northern estates of the Percy family, which were vested in the crown, and is dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland: but he had other more important objects in view; and finding that Somerset, fallen and degraded as he was, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he considered as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. Somerset, surrounded by Northumberland's creatures, was not always upon his guard, and could not help now and then bursting out into invectives and menaces, which were quickly carried to his secret enemy. He was by Northumberland's command arrested with many of his partizans and thrown into prison with the duchess his wife. In his examination he strenuously denied many of the charges laid against him; but he confessed that he had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the

jury, including Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, acting at once as accusers and judges of a man that appeared to be their mortal enemy.

*Ann. 1552.*

Somerset, condemned to death, was brought to the scaffold January 22d, amidst great crowds of spectators, who had for him such sincere attachment that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon. The day after his execution, a session of parliament was held, in which farther resolutions were taken towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorised, and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship. A law was passed against usury; but the common rate of interest was at this time fourteen per cent, and continued the same notwithstanding the law.

A bill, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been lately abrogated, was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, and passed. But the commons rejected it, and framed a new bill that passed into a law, by which it was enacted that whoever should call the king or any of his heirs, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit for the first offence their goods and chattels and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should incur a premunire; for the third, should be attainted for treason: but if any should unadvisedly utter such slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor; and by a clause annexed to this bill, it was enacted that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted to the prisoner.



A bill is passed, empowering the church-wardens to collect charitable contributions for the poor; and the bishop of the diocese to proceed against such as refuse to give, or dissuade others from giving that charity.

Northumberland, prompted by his insatiable rapacity to seize the revenues of the see of Durham, and acquire to himself a principality in the northern counties, resolved to deprive Tonsal of his bishopric. Tonsal was one of the most eminent prelates of that age by his personal merit, his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. A bill of attainder was however introduced against him into the house of peers, and passed almost unanimously on pretence of misprision of treason. But the bill being sent down to the house of commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonsal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers; and when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill. Northumberland, violently irritated at not finding the same servility in the house of commons as in the house of peers, ascribed that noble resistance so unusual in the parliament, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction in a house of commons, which being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, was almost entirely filled with his creatures. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament, which lasted from the beginning of this reign, and soon after to summon a new one.

Northumberland, finding no security in leaving to chance the returns of such obsequious representatives as he wanted to compose the new house of commons, openly ventured on an expedient, the use of which is a sufficient proof that liberty at that period was nothing but a word without meaning.

He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them "to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their representatives." After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words, "and yet nevertheless our pleasure is, that where our privy council, or any of them shall, in our behalf, recommend within their jurisdiction, men of learning and wisdom; in such cases their directions shall be regarded and followed, as tending to the same end which we desire, that is, to have this assembly composed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give advice and good counsel." (*Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 394.)

Several letters were sent from the king, recommending members to particular counties. But if all of them did not receive this species of *congé d'élire* from the king, it may be fairly presumed, as Hume has rightly observed, "that the recommendations from the privy council and the councillors extended to the greater part if not to the whole of the kingdom." "It is remarkable," says he "that this attempt was made during a minority, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to, and that it gave so little umbrage as scarcely to be taken notice of by any historian."

*Ann. 1553.*

The new parliament met March 1st, and answered completely Northumberland's expectations. As in the interval, Tonsal had been tried and deprived of his bishopric by a sentence of lay commissioners appointed on purpose, the see of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics. The regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction

of a Count Palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland.

The courtiers had been so active in their rapacities that the debts of the crown amounted at this time nearly to three hundred thousand pounds, though the king had received from France four hundred thousand crowns on delivering Boulogne, and besides, the produce of the sale of some chantry lands, and of all the staté and rich ornaments of the churches. In this distressed situation, a subsidy could not fail to be very acceptable, and the commons were very eager in granting two tenths and two fifteenths, and to render this present the more agreeable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset. The clergy gave six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years.

While the present emptiness of the exchequer was thus provided for, the king's health was declining so rapidly that Northumberland thought it prudent not to postpone any longer the execution of the great project his ambition had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end. He accordingly represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, having been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; England, in spite of the late king's will, would never submit to see the throne filled by a bastard; that the queen of Scots, excluded by the late king's will, and being an alien, had lost by law all right of inheriting; that the certain consequence of her, or his sister Mary, succeeding to the crown, was the abolition of the protestant religion; that fortunately for England, the same order of succession which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; that the three princesses being excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the

marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk ; that the next heir of the marchioness was the amiable lady Jane Gray, whose character and accomplishments rendered her every way worthy of a crown; that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which was not the case, the king being possessed of the same power as his father, might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings, and above all the apprehension of the fatal consequences for the reformation, should princess Mary succeed to the throne, made a great impression on Edward's mind, and though he bore a tender affection to the princess Elizabeth who was liable to no such objection, he was easily persuaded that the same illegitimacy which excluded one sister necessarily excluded the other.

Northumberland having thus secured the first part of his scheme, did not lose time in forwarding the others. The title of the duke of Suffolk was lately extinct by the death of his two sons ; Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By this favour and some others he easily persuaded the new duke and duchess of Suffolk to give their daughter, lady Gray, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley. To strengthen his interest by farther alliances he married his own daughter to Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon.

Meanwhile Edward's illness having turned into a consumption, his decline made every day more and more alarming progress, which induced Northumberland to use all his artifices to obtain the final consent of the dying prince to the settlement projected. The chief justice of the common pleas and two other judges with the attorney and solicitor general were summoned to the council ; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, they were required by the king to draw them up in the form

of letters patent. They hesitated to obey, and the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. They urged that the settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. having been made in consequence of an act of parliament, and confirmed by similar acts, the intended patent would be invalid, and would subject not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it to the pains of treason; that the only regular way was to summon a parliament and obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said that such was his intention, but in the mean time, he required the judges on their allegiance, to draw the letters patent; but they still opposed strong arguments to it, to the great displeasure of Northumberland, who used them very roughly on that account. The arguments were canvassed in several meetings between the council and the judges, and no solution of the difficulties could be found. At last the chief judge proposed that a special commission from the king and council should be issued, requiring the judges to draw a patent, and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence they might have incurred by their compliance. This expedient satisfied both the council and the judges, except sir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, could not be induced by any consideration, to deviate from the principles of justice. The chancellor next required for his greater security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent, and they complied with his demand out of fear of Northumberland's intrigues or of his violence. Thus the princesses Mary and Elizabeth were set aside by the king's letters patent, and the crown was settled on lady Jane Gray, June 21st.

Soon after this settlement all hopes of Edward's recovery entirely vanished. His physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an

order of council, he was empowered to put him into the hands of an ignorant woman, who pretended to restore him in a little time to his former state of health. But after the use of her medicines all the bad symptoms increased to such a degree of violence that he could not resist. He expired at Greenwich July 6th, in the sixteenth year of his age and the seventh of his reign.

All the English historians agree in their praises of the excellent qualities and accomplishments of this young prince, and in their regrets on the prematurity of his death. His resistance and tears when compelled to sign a death warrant betray the genuine gentleness of his sympathising heart, while his weeping for being obliged to permit the mass to be said in the palace of his sister Mary, excites disgust and indignation against those narrow-minded instructors who had so early adulterated the purity of his mind with the most odious prejudices of bigotry. Notwithstanding the virtues and accomplishments of Edward, it must be confessed that the people were unhappy, oppressed, and in consequence turbulent during the whole of his short reign; but his youth screens him from all reproaches for these evils. His affectionate duty to his uncle Somerset, and his attachment to the plausible Warwick, blinded his eyes to their successive failings.

Northumberland had carefully concealed the letters patent, granted by the deceased king in favour of lady Jane Gray; but in order to fix the crown on this fair usurper's head, by bringing in time the two princesses into his power, he had engaged the council to write to them in the king's name, desiring their attendance and the consolation of their company in his infirm state of health, and the princess Mary was already at half a day's journey of the court when she received from lord Arundel private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspi-

racý formed against her. She immediately hastened to Framlingham in Suffolk, where she found every one eager to arm in her cause. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in England, calling them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person. Meanwhile she dispatched a message to the council, promising them pardon for past offences and requiring them immediately to give orders for the proclaiming her in London. Northumberland, finding that farther dissimulation would be of no avail, went with the duke of Suffolk to Sion House, where lady Jane Gray resided, and approaching her with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign, he informed her of her elevation to the throne. Far from being pleased at the intelligence, she at first refused to accept of the present, pleaded the cause of the two princesses, and desired to remain in the private situation in which she was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will. As it was then usual for the kings of England after their accession to pass the first days in the tower, Northumberland conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her, and orders were issued by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and in the neighbourhood.

Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, had levied troops which were assembled at London. He took on him the command of these troops, but he had no sooner reached St. Edmundsbury than he saw he had only six thousand men to oppose to the princess Mary's army, which amounted to double the number. He wrote immediately to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; but instead of complying with his demand, all the counsellors united in the resolution of making atonement for

their past offences by a speedy return to the duty they owed to their lawful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, and discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their satisfaction by shouts of joy and applause. Northumberland himself, who had received the council's orders to lay down his arms, seeing that he was deserted by all his followers, and knowing not to what hand to turn himself, proclaimed the queen with exterior marks of approbation. Thus lady Jane Gray, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the throne itself was tendered to her.

MARY, twenty-second Sovereign from the Conquest.

[Daughter of Henry VIII. by his first wife, Catherine of Spain, born February 11th, 1516; declared illegitimate 1536; restored by parliament to her right of succession 1544; ascended the throne July 19th, 1553; crowned September 30th following; married Philip, prince of Spain, son of Charles V. January 19th, 1554; Philip allowed to take the title of king during her life, September 29th following; died November 17th, 1558; and was succeeded by her half sister Elizabeth.]

*Anno 1553.*

HAD not Henry's marriage with Catherine of Spain been permitted by a dispensation from the Pope, its invalidity could be no more a matter of doubt than the reality of the incest in the marriage of a brother with his sister in law. But it has been always



admitted in the catholic church, that, in certain cases, impediments arising from an incest to a certain degree, could be removed by a dispensation from the pope, who has been frequently induced to grant such dispensations upon circumstances, the merit of which has always been submitted to his decision. Now, it cannot be denied that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Spain, both catholics, was contracted in pursuance of a dispensation from the pope; that it was not only avowed, but promoted by their parents, and solemnly recognized by the nation. Therefore it was absolutely out of Henry's power to illegitimate, by any act of his authority the issue of such a marriage; the pope himself repealing his dispensation as surreptitious, could not have invalidated the legitimacy of the children born previous to the repeal, unless the surreptitiousness proceeded from any fraud of the contracting parties, which was not the case. Besides, the right of succession could the less be contested to the princess Mary, that it had been solemnly acknowledged by Henry in the latter end of his reign, as well as by his last will, and confirmed by parliament.

On the queen's approach to London, the people every where expressed their joy and loyalty; and the princess Elizabeth met her at the head of one thousand horse she had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper. The queen gave orders next day for arresting and confining to the tower, Northumberland, three of his sons, his brother, and some more of his followers. Soon after the Duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and her husband, the fourth son of Northumberland, were taken into custody. Pardon was granted to most of the counsellors on their pleading constraint as an excuse for their treason; Suffolk himself obtained his liberty. But Northumberland was immediately

brought to his trial, at the opening of which he only begged leave to ask two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury ; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal ? and whether those involved in them with himself could sit as his judges ? On his being answered, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not impeached, nor lying under any sentence of attainder, being still innocent in the eye of the law, might be admitted in any jury ; he acquiesced and pleaded guilty. At his execution he made profession of the catholic religion, and exhorted the people to return to the faith of their ancestors, if they would enjoy tranquillity. Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates, two of the most conspicuous tools of his criminal schemes, suffered with him. Sentence was also pronounced against lady Jane and her husband, but without any intention of putting it in execution. As neither of them had reached their seventeenth year, their youth pleaded sufficiently for their innocence.

The Duke of Norfolk, Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, and the bishops Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic cause, were restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to the queen's confidence and favour.

Though Mary had solemnly promised to the people at Suffolk, when they enlisted themselves in her service, that she should maintain the reformed religion, apprehensions were entertained concerning her principles, and a great anxiety prevailed among the people when they saw Gardiner and the other bishops, who had been confined, reinstated in their sees either by a direct act of power, or by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation ; and the bishopric of Durham, which

had been dissolved by authority of parliament, erected anew with all his revenues and principalities, in favour of Tonstal. These measures were soon followed by many others still more alarming for the reformers. On pretence of discouraging controversy, the queen silenced by an act of prerogative all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence. The archbishop of York, the bishops of Exeter, London, Gloucester, and Latimer, the old bishop of Worcester, were thrown into prison. The catholic bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws; yet Mary still promised in a public declaration before the council, that she would tolerate those whose religious opinions differed from hers. But it was generally apprehended that this engagement would prove but a feeble security when set in opposition to religious prejudices.

The primate Cranmer was personally intitled to the queen's gratitude, as he alone had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices which Henry her father had entertained against her. But he had been very active in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, and she waited only for a favourable opportunity to give vent to her resentment against them. Her impatience was soon gratified by the indiscreet zeal of Cranmer. A report had been spread that this prelate, in order to pay court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service. To wipe off this aspersion he imprudently published a violent manifesto, in which he pretended that the mass was an invention of the infernal spirit, and contained many horrible blasphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and tried for the part he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and oppos-

ing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was passed against him ; its execution however was postponed, and Cranmer was reserved for a more exemplary punishment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, desired and obtained leave to return to his native country, as the greater part of the foreign protestants ; but the populace, whose zeal, when brought to fanaticism, hardly stops to the last extremity, dug up his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, and buried it in a dung-hill.

The protestants had no protection to expect from the parliament, which was summoned at that period, October 5th, as the preference in most elections was given to such candidates as had remained attached to the principles of the ancient religion. It soon appeared therefore that the majority of the house of commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs ; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, little opposition was to be expected from that quarter.

This session opened by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. The bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, having refused to kneel during the mass, were violently thrust out of the house. The queen however still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England, and thence it was conjectured that her intention was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry.

The first bill passed by this parliament was of a popular nature, as it abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and

annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed for it. All the statutes of king Edward with regard to religion were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed.

Amidst the general agitation which at that juncture pervaded England, owing to the opposite passions of the different parties, the revenge and hopes of the catholics, the alarms and complaints of the protestants, a most important object, the marriage of the queen, engrossed the anxious attention of all, as from her choice either of a catholic or a protestant prince, probably depended the final decision of the great question between the catholic religion and the reformation. The first person proposed to her was Courtney earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being agreeable to the nation; he seemed to be no less so to the queen, and hints were dropped him of her favourable disposition towards him; but he neglected these overtures, and preferred to attach himself to the princess Elizabeth, which occasioned, first a great coldness, and soon after a declared animosity in Mary towards her sister.

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen. His high character for virtue, the great regard paid him by the catholic church, and all the animosities he had had to encounter on account of his attachment to it, were as many inducements of a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal, now in the decline of age, had contracted habits of study and retirement, which had quite unqualified him for the bustle of a court and the hurry of business. These two marriages being out of Mary's mind, she cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance

and protection. Charles had himself formed the scheme of marrying his son Philip to the queen. The prince was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, and eleven years younger than Mary, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their opinion for the match, and Gardiner, who was now prime minister and chancellor, was of the same opinion. At the same time he insisted on the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion till the marriage was accomplished. He observed, that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, seemed determined to grant no farther concessions to the catholic religion, that the resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and perhaps produce a general insurrection; that the marriage being once completed, would enable the queen to forward the pious work in which she was engaged; that much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance, and that to reconcile the English with it, it was necessary that the conditions of the marriage should be such as would seem to insure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges. The emperor approved all these observations, and the negotiations for the marriage proceeded apace.

Mary's intentions of marrying Philip did not long remain secret, and the house of commons, alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, sent a deputation to her majesty to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent all applications of the same kind, the queen thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

*Ann. 1554.*

The mass is re-established all over the kingdom, and the marriage declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. The commissioners appointed to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites, are enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice, though this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII., which were still in force.

The treaty of marriage between Philip and Mary was signed on the 12th of January. It was agreed by it, that Philip should have the title of king of England jointly with the queen, as long as their marriage should subsist, and without any innovation in the English laws, customs, and privileges, which implied that the administration should be entirely in the queen; that she should have the disposal of all offices, employments, and benefices in the kingdom, and only natives should be employed; that if the queen died first, Philip should lay no claim to the crown of England; and that this country should never be engaged in any wars with France on account of Spain; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children, without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a-year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, the queen's issue, either male or female, should inherit Spain and all the other dominions of Philip, &c. &c.

These articles did not satisfy the nation; it was openly said, that the greater advantage there appeared in them, the more obvious it was that Philip had no serious intention of observing them; that England would become a province of Spain, and

share the fate of all her dependent dominions, which groaned under the burthen of the Spanish tyranny, so horribly exemplified throughout all the new conquests in America ; that the inquisition would infallibly be established in England, where the divided sentiments of the people with regard to religion would subject them to this iniquitous tribunal, and reduce the whole nation to the most abject servitude.

These murmurs loudly repeated every where, rekindled a spirit of insurrection throughout the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wiat purposed to raise Kent ; Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire ; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. But Carew's impatience having prompted him to rise in arms before the day appointed, he was soon overpowered by the earl of Bedford, and obliged to fly to France. On this intelligence Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left town with his two brothers, hastened to the counties of Warwick and Leicester where his interest lay, and endeavoured to raise the people, but he was closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, and carried prisoner to London. Wiat was at first more successful, and having published a declaration against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk marched against him at the head of the guards, and some other troops, reinforced by five hundred Londoners ; but the whole body deserted to Wiat, declaring that they would not contribute to enslave their country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, retreated with his troops into the city. Wiat, encouraged by this success, led his forces to Southwark, and required of the queen that she should put the tower into his hands, and immediately marry



an Englishman to insure the liberty of the nation. Finding that the bridge was secured against him, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men, and returned towards London, hoping to encourage his partizans who had engaged to declare for him. But by his imprudently wasting so much time at Southwark and in his march to Kingston, that critical moment on which all popular commotions depend was entirely lost; and though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers finding that no person of note joined him, successively fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple bar. He was immediately condemned and executed, and besides the great number of persons who suffered with him, four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks, and falling on their knees, were pardoned and dismissed. As it had been reported that Wiat, on his examination, had accused the princess Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, as accomplices, he loudly declared on the scaffold before the whole people, that they had not the least share in his rebellion.

Princess Elizabeth had been for some time treated with great harshness by her sister, who ordered her to take place at court after the duchess of Suffolk and the countess of Lenox, as if she were not legitimate. The more the shining qualifications and loveliness of the princess rendered her the favourite of the nation, the more the queen's malevolence towards her discovered itself by fresh symptoms, and obliged her to retire into the country. Mary, hoping to involve her in some appearance of participation in this rebellion, sent her to the tower under a strong guard, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. Besides, the strong evidence arising from the public declaration of Wiat, the princess made so good a defence that the queen

was obliged to release her ; but on her declining a proposal of marriage, which was offered her with the duke of Savoy, she was again committed to custody, under a strong guard at Woodstock. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay-Castle.

The rebellion proved still more fatal to the unfortunate lady Jane and to her husband, though they had not personally more participated in it than the queen herself. Warning was given her to prepare for death, a doom which she had long expected, and which her present misfortunes and the innocence of her life, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. Her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her, but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both. Tower-hill had been at first the intended place for their execution ; but the council dreading the consequence of the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, it was ordered that the execution should take place within the verge of the tower. She saw her husband led to the scaffold, and having addressed to him from the window the dumb signs of the most tender farewell, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. Sir John Gage, constable of the tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, on which she had just written three sentences, one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English ; the purport of them was, that human justice was against her body, but divine mercy would be favourable to her soul ; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least and her imprudence were worthy of excuse ; and that God and pos-

terity, she trusted, would show her favour. She expressed the same sentiments more at large in her last speech on the scaffold, and with a steady serene countenance submitted herself to the executioner.

The duke of Suffolk and lord Thomas Grey were executed soon after. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried at Guildhall, and by making an admirable defence, obtained a verdict in his favour. The queen was so enraged at it, that instead of releasing him as the law required, she re-committed him to the tower. The jury were summoned before the council, sent to prison, and fined, some of them one thousand pounds, others two thousand pounds each. This instance of the most criminal violence proved fatal to several victims of the queen's blind resentment. She filled the tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry whom their popularity and interest with the nation had made the objects of her suspicions, and finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles.

The suppression of Wiat's rebellion had increased Mary's authority to such a degree, that the ministry expected to find the most compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble April 5th. The emperor also, in order to facilitate the same end, had sent over to England, no less than four hundred thousand crowns to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members, a scandalous practice hitherto unemployed. To quiet any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen resumed the title of supreme head of the church, which she had solemnly abandoned three months before.

The chancellor Gardiner opens the session by a speech, in which he asserts the queen's hereditary

title to the crown, maintains her right of choosing a husband for herself, praises very much the use she has made of it, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy. He observes, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen by law with a power of disposing of the crown, and appointing her successor, as it had been formerly conferred on Henry VIII.

As the queen's hatred for her sister, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria were generally known, it was concluded from Gardiner's proposal, that a design was formed of excluding the princess Elizabeth, and investing the queen with the power of making a will in favour of her husband; the parliament was the more alarmed at these projects, as they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was strongly insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the legitimate and only heir by right of inheritance. They, therefore, declined the passing any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them. But they could not avoid ratifying the articles of the queen's marriage, as they were drawn very favourable for England. Mary, finding that this parliament would not answer her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them May 25th.

The arrival of Philip, so impatiently expected by the queen, was at last announced to her July 19th. A few days after, they were married at Winchester, where Mary had gone to meet him. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, July 27th, and the royal consorts having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, they went to Windsor, the palace where they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices

which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant, reserved in his addresses, and he so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was almost inaccessible.

The queen summoned a new parliament, and wrote circular letters directing a proper choice of members, as it had been done for the last parliament held in the preceding reign. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants, were as many causes, which, seconding the zeal of Gardiner, contributed to compose a house of commons nearly as obsequious as Mary could wish to have it. Cardinal Pole was in Flanders, invested with legantine powers; in order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen dispensing with the old statute of provisoers, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over, and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the Holy See, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part, and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging, "that they had been  
" guilty of the most criminal defection from the  
" true church; professing a sincere repentance of  
" their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the  
" church of Rome, and praying their majesties,  
" that since they were happily uninfected with that  
" odious schism, they would intercede with the  
" Holy Father for the absolution and forgiveness of  
" their penitent subjects." The request was easily granted. The legate in the name of his Holiness gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed

them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church.

It must however be observed, that the nobility and gentry were not brought to make these concessions till they had received repeated assurances from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the ecclesiastics should never be inquired into, and the abbey and church lands should remain with the present possessors. This security was farther corroborated by an act of parliament, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, and by a special clause, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from the danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove all apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose, and the legate, in the pope's name, ratified all these transactions.

The old sanguinary laws against heretics, which had been rejected by the former parliament were revived, and this made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen; but though she attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, or at least to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless.

Philip endeavoured to soften the animosity entertained against him, by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; but nothing was

more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the princess Elizabeth from the hatred of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure has been generally represented by the historians, much less as the effect of any generosity in Philip than of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France; but this supposition is not supported by any proof, and remains, therefore, a mere conjecture which impartiality should the less admit, that it is obvious that Philip at that juncture wanted, endeavoured, and wished above all things to acquire, popularity, and that the release of the princess Elizabeth was the most popular act he could imagine.

The earl of Devonshire owed also his liberty to Philip's affectation of popularity. He begged and obtained permission to travel, and died soon after at Padua. He was the eleventh, and last earl of Devonshire of the noble family of Courtney, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

The queen was so desirous of having issue, that she fondly gave credit to the least appearance of pregnancy; she even thought that she felt the embryo stirring, and messengers were kept in readiness to carry the important news to the foreign courts; the parliament passed a law, which in case of the queen's demise, appointed Philip protector during the minority; but a few weeks after, her pretended pregnancy proved only the commencement of a dropsy which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her.

*Ann. 1555.*

The king and queen finding they could obtain

no further concessions from this parliament, came unexpectedly to Westminster, and dissolved them January 16th. There happened during this session an incident the more remarkable that it had no precedent. Several members of the house of commons opposing certain measures adopted by the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house. For this desertion from their post, they were indicted in the king's bench after the dissolution of parliament. Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court and paid their fines, the rest preferred to undergo the prosecution, and the queen died before the end of the affair. Considering the matter by the claims and established rights of the house of commons, this attempt of the queen's ministers seems to be a breach of privilege; to the house alone belonged the cognizance of the faults of their members in the discharge of their parliamentary duty.

Here opens this bloody career of persecution which lasted to the end of Mary's reign, and, in that short interval, brought to the pile immense numbers of victims, whose martyrdom, by its horrible cruelty raised against the mildest of all religions, an indignation due only, and too deservedly, to the frantic zeal of a few of its ministers. These unrelenting fanatics should have been taught by the experience of all times, of all countries, that persecution the more violent it is, the more it strenghtens the persecuted religion, and discredits that of the persecutors; and that in religious matters, there is no argument so impressive as the sight of several men, generally esteemed for their great virtue, piety, and profound learning, preferring the torments of the most excruciating martyrdom to any alteration in their creed. To this indeed christian religion in its



first ages was indebted for millions of proselytes ; to this also in great measure, the reformation owed its revival in England under the following reign. Let then the true disciples of the Gospel peruse again and again this sacred book, and imbibe themselves with its admirable doctrine. There they will find that Christ never attempted to cure incredulity by burning the incredulous, but by gently enlightening them, that Peter, though he had denied his master, was nevertheless constituted by him the prince of the apostles, and the head of the church.

Such were the principles which the pious, learned, and humane cardinal Pole maintained in the queen's council when it was debated, whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or employed only to restrain by terror the bold attempts of these zealots. But Gardiner, who had always made his theology subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement, was prompted by both to support by persecution a religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference ; and his arguments being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received than those of the cardinal.

Gardiner's plan was first to attack the most eminent men for virtue as well as for learning, in hopes that terror would bend them to submission, and that their example, either of punishment or recantation would equally influence the multitude ; but he found in them a degree of perseverance and fortitude of which human nature did not seem susceptible ; he persevered, nevertheless, with the greatest obstinacy in his rash and barbarous plan, in pursuance of which the persons condemned to be burnt, were not only those convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing against the established religion, but likewise the persons who being seized merely

on suspicion, refused to subscribe several articles which were presented to them, and the condemnation to the flames was the sentence issued without exception against all those who refused to acknowledge the real presence.

There is so great a similarity in the circumstances of all the persecutions and martyrdoms which disgraced the three last years of Mary's reign, that an exact narrative of them, of so savage a ferocity on the one hand, of so patient constancy on the other, would fill many pages of disgusting and needless repetitions. It is enough to know, that in that time, two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake, besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. A woman in Guernsey, being delivered of a child in the midst of the flames, one of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, but the magistrate who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back, that nothing, he said, should survive which sprung from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

Philip, sensible of the indignation which such acts of violence would raise against him, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself and the queen, by ordering his confessor to deliver in their presence a sermon in favour of toleration. But in the mean time, a commission modelled on the tribunals of the Spanish inquisition, was appointed by authority of the queen's prerogative, under pretence of more effectually extirpating heresy. It was composed of twenty-one persons, but any three of them were invested with the power of the whole. "They were to search by

“ any way they could devise, after all heresy, all  
“ the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all  
“ heretical books ; they were to examine and  
“ punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any  
“ church or chapel ; and to try all priests that did  
“ not preach the sacrament of the altar, all persons  
“ that did not hear mass, or come to their parish  
“ church to service, that would not go in pro-  
“ cessions, or did not take holy bread or holy  
“ water—giving the commissioners full power to  
“ proceed as their discretion and their conscience  
“ should direct them, and to use all such means as  
“ they would invent for the searching of the pre-  
“ mises, empowering them also to call before them  
“ such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them  
“ to make oath of such things as might discover  
“ what they sought after.” Meanwhile letters  
were written to lord North and others, enjoining  
them “ to put to the torture such obstinate persons  
“ as would not confess, and then to order them at  
“ their discretion.” Instructions answering the  
same purposes were given to the justices of peace.  
Secret spies and informers were employed ; and a  
proclamation was issued against books of heresy,  
treason and sedition, declaring, that whosoever had  
any of these books, and did not presently burn  
them, without reading them or showing them to  
any other person, should be esteemed rebels, and  
without any farther delay be executed by martial  
law.

A solemn embassy was sent to Rome, in order  
to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be  
readmitted into the bosom of the catholic church.  
The papal chair was now filled by Paul IV. the most  
haughty pontiff, that, during several ages, had been  
elevated to that dignity. His holiness was at first  
offended that Mary had retained among her titles  
that of queen of Ireland, while it belonged to him

alone, as he saw cause, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old. To avoid, however, all disputes with the new converts, he condescended to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title as if it had been assumed from his concession. But he insisted that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost farthing, as whatever belonged to God, could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation; that if the English would truly show their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Holy See, and Peter's pence among the rest, nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of Paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. These representations made such an impression on the queen's mind, that in order to ease her conscience, she resolved to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown. Some members in the council objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay, but the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms.

A new parliament is summoned October 21st, and pass a bill restoring to the church the tenths and first fruits or *annates*, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown. An application being made for a subsidy during two years and two fifteenths, the latter is refused by the commons, as well as a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of the peace. The parliament is dissolved December 9th.

Philip, whose ambition was the only ruling pas-

sion, finding that all his attempts and artifices to increase his authority in the kingdom were continually checked by acts of parliament, and that the queen with all her fondness, which was far from being reciprocal, was unable to procure the least extension of his power, did not dissemble any longer his indifference and neglect; at length, tired with her importunate love and jealousy, he took hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and went over to the emperor, his father, in Flanders; which threw the abandoned queen into a deep melancholy. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; she passed almost all her time either in tears or in writing love letters to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, unless to ask money, which she could not procure but by extorting it from her people, and the means she employed for it were no less violent than irregular. She levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds upon one thousand persons; that sum being insufficient, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a-year. She levied sixty thousand marks on seven thousand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan, and thirty-six thousand pounds more from the merchants. The English company at Antwerp, having refused her a loan of forty thousand pounds, she laid an embargo on their ships loaded with cloth, and obliged them to grant her the forty thousand pounds at first demanded, twenty thousand pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece of cloth. Some time after, being informed that the Italian merchants had shipped above forty thousand pieces of cloth for the Levant, the duty of which was a crown a piece, she struck a bargain with the merchants, adventurers in London, prohibited the foreigners from making any exporta-

tion, and received from the English merchants in consideration of this iniquity, the sum of fifty thousand pounds, and a duty of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad, but her credit was so low, that though she offered fourteen per cent to the city of Antwerp, for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, she could not obtain it till she compelled the city of London to be surety for her.

These miserable and oppressive means of extorting money to send it abroad, and the persecutions against the protestants, which not only continued, but were daily enforced by the queen, more and more irritated the general discontent. It was about this time that the schism between the episcopalians of England and the non-conformists, soon after styled Puritans, first broke out.

*Ann. 1556.*

Charles V. worn out with infirmities, though only fifty-six years old, resigns voluntarily the imperial crown with his German dominions, to his brother Ferdinand, and all his other dominions in Europe and in America to his son Philip. He survived his retreat two years.

The queen now determined to bring the primate Cranmer to punishment, and as her vengeance was to be more gratified by having him burnt rather than beheaded, she ordered he should be indicted for heresy and not for treason. He was accordingly cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Not satisfied with the excruciating torments preparing for him, her implacable resentment suggested to her the idea of en-

deavouring to stigmatize his name with such an infamy as his martyrdom could never efface. Proper persons were chosen accordingly to employ flattery, insinuations, hopes, promises, in order to persuade him to make a recantation. After a long resistance to these artful attacks, Cranmer, overcome by the fond love of life, consented to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. But this writing no sooner reached the court than orders were sent, that Cranmer should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Instead of the expected acknowledgment, he recanted with the greatest eloquence against the insincere declaration of faith he had the weakness to consent to, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics, and summoning up all the strength of his mind, he bore their scorn as well as the torture of his punishment with the greatest fortitude and serenity.

Cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was the immediate successor of Cranmer in the See of Canterbury, and was by this office as well as by his commission of legate, at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary measures against the heretics, he had not sufficient authority or energy to oppose the violent disposition of the queen and of her counsellors.

*Ann. 1557.*

Mary endeavours to engage the nation in the war of Spain against France. The council oppose strenuously this measure, and insist on the marriage articles, on the violence of domestic factions

in England, and on the disordered state of the finances. Philip comes to London, March 20th, in order to support his partizans, and threatens the queen that if he is not gratified in this circumstance, he never more will set foot in England. Mary in her turn uses the most violent menaces to overcome the inflexibility of her council, yet cannot procure a vote for entering into a war with France. At length, one Strafford, and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprising Scarborough, and a confession being extorted from them that they had been encouraged by Henry II. in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed, and war was accordingly declared against France.

The revenue of England at that time little exceeded three hundred thousand pounds; considerable supplies could not be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as the produce of the customs would be most reduced by the war, it was foreseen that the finances, insufficient for the ordinary charges of government, must still more prove unequal to the expences of war. But the queen continuing to levy money by the same arbitrary means she had already employed, and by new ones still more oppressive, she succeeded in levying an army of eight thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile to prevent disturbances at home, she threw into the tower many of the most considerable gentry; and lest they should be known, they were carried thither in the night time, or hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them.

Philip returns to Brussels July 27, assembles an army amounting to sixty thousand men, after the junction of the English, and gives the command of it to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, reckoned among the first generals of the age. The duke lays



siege before St. Quintin. The constable of Montmorency, at the head of an army inferior by one half to that of the enemy, advances to protect the entry of some reinforcements into the place, and succeeds with great difficulty in introducing a few troops. On his retreat, the duke makes an attack on the French army August 10th, and puts them to total rout, killing four thousand men and dispersing the remainder. Many of the chief nobility of France were slain in that unfortunate action, and among them the duke of Enghien, prince of the blood; the old constable fighting valiantly to the last extremity, was taken prisoner, as well as marshal St. André. After this battle, which filled France with consternation, Philip continued the siege of St. Quintin, making no doubt of being master of it in a few days; but he did not attend sufficiently to the character of the admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town, and who united to all the qualities of an excellent general, those more peculiarly adapted to his present station. As he knew the infinite importance to his country of every hour which he could gain at this juncture, he conducted the defence with such skill and perseverance, that he held out the town seventeen days.

Henry availed himself of that precious interval to collect the scattered remains of the constable's army, and to reinforce it by all possible means. He sent courier after courier to the duke of Guise, who was employed in Italy with an army of twenty thousand men, and required him to return instantly with all his forces for the defence of France, whither he hastened with the greatest rapidity. He was received as the guardian angel of the kingdom, and that he might justify the extraordinary confidence which the king had reposed in him, by some achievement suitable to the high expectations of his

countrymen ; at the latter end of December, though the winter had set in with extreme severity, he took the field at the head of the French army, marched to Flanders, and after amusing the enemy by threatening successively different towns on the frontiers, he turned suddenly to the left, and invested Calais with his whole army.

Mary, and her council chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, had neglected to take any precautions for the safety of this important place, where there was not a fourth part of the garrison requisite for its defence. The duke de Guise pushed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying sieges in that age, and on the eighth day he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to surrender ; immediately after, he invested Guines, which surrendered after standing one brisk assault ; and the castle of Ham was abandoned by the garrison without waiting his approach.

Thus after a possession of above two hundred years, the English lost in a few days the strong fortress of Calais, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months at the head of a numerous army.

*Ann. 1558.*

While transports of joy celebrated in France the glorious conquest of the duke of Guise, the English gave vent to all the passions which animate a high-spirited people, when any great national calamity is manifestly owing to the ill conduct of their rulers. Mary and her advisers, already odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her arbitrary administration could not restrain them from uttering execrations and threats against those who having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel, wherein it was nowise interested, had,

by their negligence or incapacity, brought irreparable disgrace on their country.

Henry II. imitated the conduct of Edward III. with regard to Calais. He enjoined all the English to quit the town; and giving their houses to his own subjects, to whom he granted several immunities, he left a strong garrison under an experienced officer for their defence.

Marriage of the Dauphin with the queen of Scots, Mary Stuart, April 24th. Eight commissioners appointed by the Scottish parliament are sent to represent the whole body of the nation at the ceremony, with powers to settle the terms of the contract. This young queen, now fifteen years and four months old, had been affianced to the Dauphin in 1548, and having been educated since that time in the court of France, she had grown up to be the most amiable and one of the most accomplished princesses.

This alliance affording to the French a means of invading England, Mary summoned a parliament to demand supplies, and obtained, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was also the subsidy of the laity, in four years, by equal portions. An act was passed confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands already made, or which should be made by the queen during seven years. One Copley, a member of the house of commons, having, in the debate, expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succession and alienate the crown from the lawful heir; his words were thought *irreverent* to her majesty; he was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, and though he expressed sorrow

for his offence, he was not released till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

Proposals of marriage made by the Swedish ambassador in his master's name, to the princess Elizabeth, who declines them, and covers her refusal with professions of attachment to a single life. She had retired into the country, where she saw very little company, and past her time wholly in reading and study. As she knew that she was surrounded with spies, she intermeddled in no business, and concealed her sentiments on religion by complying with the present modes of worship, and by eluding all questions on this subject.

The subsidies obtained by the queen, enabled her to fit out a fleet of one hundred and forty sail, which being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Britanny. They landed at Conquet, plundered and burnt the town with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding farther, when Kersimon, a Breton nobleman, at the head of some militia, put them to rout and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. This disgrace was soon after revenged at Gravelines, where ten English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, made such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight, and the Spanish gained a complete victory.

Mary, who had been long in a declining state of health, now conscious of being hated by her subjects, overcome by the most melancholy reflections on the ill state of her affairs, the loss of Calais, the prospect of being succeeded by Elizabeth, the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, and above all, the absence of her husband; she

ended her life in a lingering fever November 17th, after a most unfortunate and inglorious reign of five years, four months and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole died the same day as the queen.

This unhappy princess, as little agreeable in her person as in her manners, was praised only for her sincerity, a quality which she seemed to have inherited from her father, but unfortunately she had also inherited from him obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny, the most detestable of all vices in a sovereign, and which the extreme narrowness of her understanding rendered incomparably worse. Thence the general disgust she excited both against her government and against her religion too much altered by her sanguinary fanaticism, to be mistaken for the true catholic religion.

The naval power was so inconsiderable at that period, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds would afterwards answer all necessary charges.

Coaches were first used in England in the year 1555.

Hollingshed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, describing the way of living of the preceding generation, says, that *in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manour places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage)* there was scarcely a chimney to the houses; the fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows; the houses were nothing but walling plastered over with clay: the people slept on straw-pallets, and had a good round log under their head

for a pillow, and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood. (*Description of Britain*, chap. x. xvi. and xviii.)

Erasmus, who died in 1536, ascribes the frequent plagues in England, to the nastiness and dirt, and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he (Epist. 432), "are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty."

In this reign was passed the first law appointing that the highways should be repaired by parish duty, all over England.

The hour of dinner at this period, was, with people of fortune eleven before noon, and of supper between five and six in the afternoon; while the merchants took each of their meals an hour later; and the husbandman one hour still later than the merchants.

ELIZABETH, Twenty-third Sovereign from the Conquest.

[Daughter of Henry VIII. by his second queen Ann Boleyn; born September 7th, 1533; declared illegitimate 1536; restored by parliament to her right of succession 1544; ascended the throne November 17th, 1558; crowned January 15th, 1559; never married; died March 24th, 1603; and was succeeded by her third cousin, James VI. of Scotland.]

*Ann. 1558.*

When the death of the late queen was notified by the archbishop of York, then chancellor, to the parliament who had been assembled a few days before that event, the two houses immediately resounded with the joyful acclamations of "God save queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she reign!" The princess who was then at Hatfield, went a few days after to London, through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the most unfeigned testimonies of their affection. When according to the ancient court ceremonial stile observed by the English monarchs on the first days of their accession, she made her entrance into the tower, the very place where she had been confined a few years before as a prisoner, and in the greatest danger of her life; she fell on her knees and expressed her thanks to Heaven for her deliverance, *no less miraculous, she said, than that of Daniel from the Den of Lions.* This pious act was the only occasion in which she seemed to remember any past injury. Either out of prudence or magnanimity she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest male-

violence against her. But when among the bishops who came to pay their obeisance to her she perceived that same Bonner who had so inhumanly personated the great inquisitor in England, she turned aside from him as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror and detestation.

The queen notifies to foreign courts her sister's death and her own accession. As during Mary's jealous administration, under the most difficult circumstances, and in a situation extremely delicate, Elizabeth had conducted herself with prudence and address far exceeding her age, all the sovereigns of Europe had conceived an high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her sister. But the kings of France and Spain were the most eager to gain her favour, and set themselves with a like emulation to court it. Each of them had particular services to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in France, in case her sister's violence should force her to fly out of England. Philip's intercession had alone prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her sister. Henry wrote to Elizabeth with the warmest expressions of regard and friendship, and represented the war which was unhappily kindled between the two kingdoms, not as a national quarrel but as the effect of Mary's blind compliance with all her husband's wishes. Philip went much farther, and in order to perpetuate the close connection which existed between Spain and England, he offered himself to her in marriage, and to procure a dispensation from the pope, though it was obvious that she could not admit it as sufficient, without condemning her father's divorce from Catherine of Arragon, and acknowledging that her mother's marriage was null, and her own birth illegitimate. On the other hand,



Henry, by an unpardonable offence prevented her from having any real friendly intercourse with him; at the very time when he secretly entreated Elizabeth to consent to a separate peace with him, he, by the persuasion of the duke of Guise and his brother, ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of king and queen of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassadors complained of it, they could obtain nothing but an answer so deceitfully evasive as to convince Elizabeth that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. This ill-timed pretension, the source of so many calamities to the unfortunate queen of Scots, was, at this juncture, an offence the more to be resented by Elizabeth, as it was concurrent and obviously connected with a similar one she had received from the court of Rome.

Paul IV. when the queen's accession was notified to him, very haughtily and still more imprudently told Carne, the English ambassador, that England was a fief of the Holy See; and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed without his participation the title and authority of queen; that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with regard to Henry's marriage; that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights, by rejecting all her applications; but being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open to her: and that if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. (*Father Paul*, lib. 5.)

In such arduous and critical circumstances, an uncommon degree of prudence, discernment, and energy, was undoubtedly requisite for Elizabeth to determine and execute the best plan of conduct she was to pursue. She could not unreservedly adopt the catholic religion without turning against her the protestant party, whose power had been rather increased than weakened by the persecutions of the last reign, nor without admitting submissively the exorbitant pretensions of the court of Rome, to the most imminent risk of losing her crown, and seeing it transferred on the head of her rival Mary. On the other hand, by openly declaring herself in favour of the reformation, she had to encounter the ambitious efforts of the kings of France and Spain, supported at home by the discontents of the catholics, and abroad by the thunders and intrigues of Rome.

Thus situated, Elizabeth wisely postponed to discover any decided inclination between the two religions; she prohibited all controversial preaching, allowed only certain parts of the service to be read in English, without any other alteration until the meeting of parliament. In the mean time, she set at liberty all prisoners for religious matters, recalled the exiles, and sought by gentle means to unite the minds of all. Not to alarm the partizans of the catholic religion, she had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors, and now in order to balance their authority, she added eight more who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion. In the mean time, she gave some encouragement to Henry's overture of a separate negociation, but as she could nowise depend on his sincerity, she granted a commission to the same plenipotentiaries whom her sister had employed, and instructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipoten-

tiaries of Spain, and to take no step until they had previously consulted with them. She knew very well how far to carry this appearance of confidence which she deemed prudent to assume towards the Spanish monarch, and though she determined not to yield to Philip's addresses, she returned an answer in terms which were evasive, but so tempered with respect, that without giving him reason to be secure of success, they did not altogether extinguish his hopes.

Elizabeth having thus provided as well as possible for preventing, at least provisionally, if not definitively, all foreign quarrels and internal disturbances, she thought proper not to postpone any farther the assembling of a parliament, to have her accession finally confirmed in the constitutional forms and with the usual solemnity. Their meeting was summoned for the 25th of January. When she was conducted to London, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy who personated Truth, was let down from one of the principal arches, and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book most graciously, placed it next her bosom, and declared that amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable. Conscious that in her present situation the love of her people was the only support on which she could firmly depend to obviate or overcome every obstacle, she determined to neglect no means to insinuate herself into their affections, to please them, and above all, to make them in all respects as happy as she could. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity,

she soon acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain.

*Ann. 1559.*

Elizabeth was born at the beginning of the reformation, when it was only, (to use the words of bishop Latimer, one of its most esteemed apostles), *a mingle mangle, a hotch potch, I cannot tell what, partly popery and partly true religion mingled together.* [Latimer's Sermons.] But after the death of Henry VIII. the primate Cranmer, the ablest theologist of the times, had improved and settled it on principles more consistent and more agreeable to the dictates of reason. The young princess, educated in those principles, was too early imbibed with them, and too little conversant with controversial matters, not to prefer the creed of her youth to any other, and particularly to one which she knew only by the frantic fanaticism and horrible persecutions of her sister's administration. But even putting aside all infantile prejudices, and supposing Elizabeth equally unbiassed either for the catholic or the protestant religion, and at full liberty to choose between them that which, with regard to its doctrine and practices, would appear to her the most consonant with the true principles of the Gospel, the fundamental book of both religions; it is not improbable that she would have found in the doctrine and practices established by Cranmer, more than in those enforced by queen Mary and bishop Gardiner, that spirit of meekness, love, and charity, which breathes in every page of the Gospel. Therefore, there would be, perhaps, sufficient grounds to maintain, that she persevered in protestantism merely out of conviction, and independently of the principal worldly consequences attending her preference, had she had any for the catholic religion, such as

her acknowledging the invalidity of her father's divorce from Catherine of Arragon, the adultery of her own mother, her own illegitimacy, and, of course, her renouncing all pretensions to the crown, according to the pope's injunctions. Elizabeth, however, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the protestants, had delayed discovering her final determination about religion till the meeting of parliament; but, in the mean time, she introduced a new mode of influencing the elections, which was no less unconstitutional than efficacious: five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough, and three to each county, and by the Sheriff's authority, the members were chosen from among these candidates. (*See State Papers, collected by Edward earl of Clarendon, p. 92.*) The consequence was, that the elections went entirely against the catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority.

Coronation of the queen January 15th, by the bishop of Carlisle, all the other bishops having refused even to assist at it, on account of religious scruples on the uncertainty of the queen's real religion. The parliament is assembled January 25th, and they open the session by an unanimous declaration, "That queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as the common and statute laws of the kingdom, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir of the crown, lawfully descended from the blood royal, according to the order of succession, settled in the 35th of Henry VIII."

The first bill brought into, and passed by, parliament, suppressed the monasteries lately erected by queen Mary, and restored the annates to the queen. The bill next introduced, annexed the supremacy to the crown, and gave the queen the denomination of *governess* instead of *head* of the

church, but with the same extensive power annexed to the latter title. All the bishops in the upper house strenuously opposed this law, but the majority in both houses was against them. In order to exercise that authority, the queen was empowered by that act to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; thence originated the court of ecclesiastical commission, which assumed large discretionary, and even arbitrary powers, incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution, and gave the crown alone all the power which had been formerly claimed by the popes.

Whoever denied to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy, was incapacitated from holding any office. Whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited for the first offence all his goods and chattels, for the second was subjected to the penalty of premunire; the third offence was declared treason. All Edward's statutes with regard to religion were confirmed. The nomination of bishops was given to the crown, without any election of the chapter. The queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. The mass was abolished, and Edward's liturgy re-established. A solemn disputation was held during this session, in presence of lord Bacon, keeper of the seal, between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. But the catholic disputants finding that the arguments of their opponents were attended with vast applause, while theirs were followed by a gloomy silence, augured ill for their cause, withdrew much discontented, and by their retreat gave up the victory to the protestants. Thus, in almost an instant of time, without any

violence, tumult, or clamour, the national religion was changed for the fourth time in England in less than thirty years, by the will of a queen of twenty-five years of age, whose title to the crown would probably have been strenuously contested by Mary of Scotland, had it not been still more powerfully supported by the unbounded affection she generally inspired in her subjects, and which the commons testified by their eagerness in voting a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on moveables, together with two fifteenths.

At the end of the session the speaker of the house of commons was directed to present to the queen a most respectful address, humbly requesting that she would fix her choice of a husband. She answered with great dignity, that as the commons expressed only their wishes for her marriage, without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not consider their address otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her; that any farther interposition on their part would have ill become them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess; that while she was a private person she had more than once declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; that as she was now married to England, all Englishmen were her children, and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable; that should she die a virgin, she hoped that divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign, who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people; and that for her part she desired no higher character or

fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than to have this inscription engraved on her tomb-stone; "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived" and died a maiden queen."

After the prorogation of the parliament, May 8th, the liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. All the bishops, that of Landaffe only excepted, refused compliance, and were degraded from their sees. Their example among the inferior clergy throughout all England, was only imitated by eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, and fifteen heads of colleges, who sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Some foreign princes interposed to procure for the catholics the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen refused it, on account of the danger of disturbing the public tranquillity, by such a toleration of different religions.

Negotiations for a peace at Cateau Cambresis between the ministers of France, Spain, and England. Henry agrees to restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that in case of failure he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; but that if in the interval Elizabeth broke the peace with France or with Scotland, which was included in the treaty, she should forfeit her title to Calais.

Scarcely had this agreement been signed, when the foundation was laid of a quarrel of a very serious nature, which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The house of Guise had prevailed upon Henry II. not to neglect the rights of Mary of Scotland to the throne of England, and by their persuasion he had ordered his son and daughter in law to assume the title of king and queen of England in the most open and solemn



manner, a measure which they deemed sufficient at that time to indicate and secure Mary's claim until a favourable opportunity of enforcing it should occur.

The two first marriages of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon and Ann Boleyn, were evidently incompatible with each other ; and it seemed impossible, that if the first was legal, the second could equally be so. Both of them indeed had been invalidated by act of parliament, and terminated by a divorce. But the first step of queen Mary on assuming the crown, had been to obtain an act of parliament, which ratified Catherine's marriage, and annulled Henry's divorce from her. The nullity of that first divorce necessarily, though tacitly, implied the nullity of all subsequent marriages, during the life of Catherine of Arragon. Elizabeth, on ascending the throne, followed not Mary's example in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy. She probably deemed it sufficient to have it *tacitly* repealed by the solemn confirmation of the order of succession settled by Henry VIII. ; she scorned to have her title founded on any act of an assembly, which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions ; the more so, that this measure must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister. These arguments, however, though very plausible, and even irresistible, when urged by a beloved monarch, invincibly supported by the unanimous wishes of a nation, could neither remove the difficulties of which Elizabeth's title was susceptible in point of law, nor weaken the rights of Mary of Scotland, who was undoubtedly the next heir to the crown after the legitimate issue of Henry VIII. But she had now no other means of enforcing her

claim, than a general invasion of England; and such was the bold enterprise planned out by her uncles the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine, who then governed the court of France. As the French marine had been utterly neglected, and was nowise adequate to resist at that time the naval power of England, Scotland was considered as the only avenue by which the territories of Elizabeth could be approached. It was on that side, therefore, that the princes of Lorraine determined to make their attack; and by using the name and pretensions of the queen of Scotland, they hoped likewise to rouse the English catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exasperated against Elizabeth on account of the change she had made in the national religion.

A necessary step to prepare the invasion of England, was to break the power of the protestant party in Scotland. With this the princes of Lorraine resolved to open their scheme; and as persecution was the only method known at that time for suppressing religious opinions, they determined to employ it in its utmost violence against the leaders of the party, in hopes, by punishing them, to intimidate their followers. Instructions for this purpose were sent from France to the queen regent, who at first condemned the measure as equally violent and impolitic. But as her brothers insisted on the full and rigorous execution of their plan, she prepared to execute their commands with implicit submission, and became the instrument of exciting civil commotions in Scotland. Her first step was to regain the favour of the catholic clergy; and when she was secure of their assistance, she openly approved of the decrees of the convocation against the principles of the reformers, and at the same time she issued a proclamation enjoining all persons to observe

the approaching festival of Easter according to the catholic ritual.

The protestants, who saw the danger approach, complained of this change towards severity, which her reiterated promises gave no reason to expect. She without disguise or apology avowed to them her resolution of extirpating the reformed religion out of the kingdom; and issued a mandate, summoning all the protestant preachers in the kingdom to a court of justice, which was to be held at Stirling. The protestants, who about this time were distinguished by the name of the *congregation*, far from being intimidated by this danger, resolved not to abandon their pastors, and attended them unarmed, but in great numbers, to Stirling. The regent, alarmed at their approach with a train so numerous, sent to them John Erskine, a person of eminent authority in the party, and empowered him to promise in her name that she would put a stop to the intended trial, on condition the preachers and their retinue advanced no nearer to Stirling. The protestants listened with pleasure to so pacific a proposition, and the multitude which had gathered from different parts of the kingdom dispersed, and retired to their own habitations.

Notwithstanding this solemn promise the regent queen proceeds, May 10th, to call to trial the persons who had been summoned, and who upon their non appearance are pronounced outlaws. This artifice, by which she forfeited the esteem and confidence of the nation, occasioned an insurrection at Perth. While the minds were in that ferment, which the queen's perfidiousness and their own danger had excited, a catholic priest having imprudently prepared the altar to celebrate mass, the multitude, inflamed with the utmost rage, fell with tumultuary but irresistible violence upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the

pictures, broke in pieces the images ; and proceeding next to the monasteries, they laid those sumptuous fabrics almost level with the ground.

The queen, who had already drawn the troops in French pay to Stirling, with these and what Scottish forces she could assemble of a sudden, marched directly to Perth, in hopes of surprising the protestant leaders ; but finding that they had taken the field and advanced with an army, she declined hazarding an action, and sent them commissioners to negociate. They succeeded in concluding a treaty, in which it was stipulated that both armies should be disbanded, that an indemnity should be granted to the inhabitants of Perth, that no French soldiers should approach within three miles of that place, and that a parliament should immediately be held, in order to compose whatever differences might still remain.

No sooner were the protestant forces dismissed, than the queen broke every article of the treaty ; this was the occasion of further destructions of churches and monasteries. The queen, without losing a moment put her troops in motion ; but the zeal of the congregation once more got the start of her vigilance and activity ; crowds flocked to their standards from every corner of the country, and enabled them to meet the queen with superior forces. Surprised at the approach of so formidable a body, she had again recourse to negociation. The protestants demanded not only the redress of their religious grievances, but, as a preliminary towards settling the nation and securing its liberties, required the immediate expulsion of the French troops out of Scotland. It was not in the queen's power to make so important a concession without the concurrence of the king of France, which could not be obtained but in a certain delay, and in hopes of receiving instead of it such reinforcements from

France as circumstances required, she agreed to a cessation of arms for eight days, and before the expiration of these engaged to transport the French troops to the south side of the Forth, and to send commissioners to St. Andrew's to bring all differences to an accommodation.

This treaty being no less violated than the former, the protestants again took arms, marched to Perth, where the queen had left a garrison, which was soon obliged to capitulate, secured Stirling, which she endeavoured to seize, and advanced with the same rapidity towards Edinburgh, where they had determined to fix their residence. The queen, compelled to abandon the capital with precipitation, retired to Dunbar.

The leaders of the congregation having been above two months in arms, had exhausted in the expences of this campaign all the money which the country had been able to supply: this dangerous situation easily induced them to listen to overtures of peace or truce, which the queen, daily expecting a strong reinforcement from France, readily agreed to upon no unequal conditions. The suspension of hostilities was to last from the 24th of July to the 10th of January, during which the queen agreed to give no molestation to the protestant preachers, and to permit the free and public profession of the protestant faith in every part of the kingdom.

About this time the tragical death of Henry II. in a tournament July 10th, put an end to all pacific measures with regard to Scotland, as the Dauphin who ascended the throne, being only sixteen years of age, abandoned the whole direction of affairs to his queen's uncles, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine. They immediately informed the regent queen their sister, that, in a short time a powerful army should be sent over to her. In the mean time the lords of the congrega-

tion, in order to provide against the danger which threatened them, entered into a stricter bond of confederacy and mutual defence. The duke of Chatellerault, and his eldest son the earl of Arran, concurred in this new association, and brought a great accession of power to the party. This young nobleman having resided some years in France, where he commanded the Scottish guards, had imbibed the protestant opinions concerning religion, and as he was allied to one throne and the presumptive heir to another, his condemnation could not fail of convincing all ranks of men that neither splendour of birth nor eminence of station could exempt from punishment those who should be guilty of adhering to this new doctrine; the princes of Lorraine had accordingly destined him to be the unhappy victim, but some unguarded expressions of the cardinal, having raised Arran's suspicions of the intended blow, he escaped it by a timely flight.

A reinforcement of a thousand soldiers arrive from France, and are employed immediately to fortify Leith, where the queen intends to fix the head quarters of her foreign forces. The protestants having vainly remonstrated against it, take arms in their own defence, and advance rapidly towards Edinburgh with a numerous army. Upon their entering the town, they address new representations to the queen, but without success. They assemble all the peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs, who adhered to their party; a convention, which exceeded in number and equalled in dignity the usual meetings of parliament. Every one present was called in his turn to declare his sentiments, and rising up in order, all gave their suffrages, without one dissenting voice, for depriving the queen of the office of regent, and ordaining, that for the future no obedience should be

given to her commands. In this extraordinary sentence religious grievances are slightly mentioned, but it enumerates with great energy the dangerous encroachments of the queen upon the civil constitution; the introducing foreign troops into a kingdom at peace with all the world; the seizing and fortifying towns in different parts of the country; the promoting strangers to offices of great power and dignity; the debasing the current coin; the subverting the ancient laws; the imposing of new and burthensome taxes; and the attempting to subdue the kingdom, and to oppress its liberties by open and repeated acts of violence.

The lords of the congregation being possessed of no artillery or magazines, and their money being exhausted by the expences of their army, they soon found that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which it was beyond their utmost ability to accomplish. In this situation they had recourse to Elizabeth, who, being desirous of still preserving appearances with France, bestowed at first her subsidies with extreme frugality. She entrusted, however, the governors of the town and castle of Berwick with a discretionary power of supplying the Scottish malcontents according to the exigency of their affairs. A small sum of four thousand crowns, which was sent to them, was intercepted by the enemy. The protestants, thrown into despair by this disappointment, attempted to assault Leith; but the French beat them back with disgrace, seized their cannon, and pursuing them to the gates of Edinburgh, were on the point of entering along with them. A second attempt against Leith, a few days after, was no less unfortunate; they set out from Edinburgh in great confusion, and marched without halting till they arrived at Stirling. They turned their eyes once more to England, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth, to-

wards finishing an enterprise in which they had so fatally experienced their own weakness and the strength of their adversaries.

Elizabeth considered that by abandoning the Scottish malcontents to the mercy of the French, she should open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to the calamities of war, and to the danger of conquest: she determined accordingly to afford more effectual aid to the lords of the congregation in the present emergency, and they were desired to send immediately commissioners into England to conclude a treaty, and to settle the operations of the campaign with the duke of Norfolk.

The queen regent, who was informed of these transactions, determined to get the start of Elizabeth, by venturing, notwithstanding the inclemency of the winter season, to attack the malcontents in their present dispersed and helpless situation. A considerable body of her French forces, augmented by the fresh arrival of a thousand veteran foot and some cavalry, were commanded to march to Stirling, and made an inroad in the county of Fife, plundering and destroying the houses of those whom they deemed their enemies. But a few of the most active leaders of the congregation having assembled six hundred horse, infested the French with continual incursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys of provisions, and so harassed them, that they could not advance for more than three weeks.

*Ann. 1560.*

Elizabeth's fleet appearing in the Frith of Forth, disconcerted the French army, and obliged them to return to Leith, where they were immediately besieged by the English army, reinforced by five thou-



sand Scots. The garrison was already reduced to great difficulties, when their distress was increased by the death of the queen regent, and by the dispersion of the French fleet, which carried a considerable army on board, under the command of marquis d'Elbeuf. The French, shut up in Leith, finding it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, while the English were continually reinforced by fresh numbers, were obliged to capitulate, July 5th, and a treaty was signed at Edinburgh, by the English and French plenipotentiaries sent thither for that purpose. It was there stipulated, that the French should immediately evacuate Scotland, that the king and queen of France and Scotland should abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom in any time to come; that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and the commissioners should meet to settle this point, or if they could not agree, that the king of Spain should be umpire between the crowns. Besides these conditions, it was stipulated in favour of the Scots, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should enjoy any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen of Scots should choose seven and the states five, and in the hands of these twelve should the whole administration be placed in their queen's absence, and that Mary should never make peace nor war without the consent of the states. It was also agreed, that a parliament or convention should soon be assembled.

The subsequent measures of the Scottish congregation tended still more to cement their union with England. Without waiting till Mary should ratify that treaty, they thought themselves fully entitled to summon a parliament, and presented to that

assembly a petition full of abuse against the catholics. The parliament, after ratifying a confession of faith agreeable to the new doctrines, passed a statute which prohibited the exercise of religious worship according to the rites of the Romish church, and enacted, that whoever anywhere either officiated in it, or was present at it, should be chastised for the first offence with confiscation of goods and corporal punishment at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second with banishment, and for the third with loss of life. A law was also voted for abolishing papal jurisdiction in Scotland; the presbyterian form of discipline was settled; leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics, whom they called superintendants.

Queen Mary refused her sanction to those statutes, and denied the validity of a parliament summoned without her consent. But the protestants gave themselves little trouble about their queen's refusal, and put the statutes immediately into execution.

Francis II. and Mary being wholly directed by the counsels of the house of Guise, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

The contests of religion in France, and the rigorous punishments inflicted on the most eminent of the protestant party, at first inspired the French with courage openly to resist the unlimited authority and tyranny of the aspiring family of Guise, and was soon after the occasion of that famous attempt at Amboise, the object of which was to seize the person of the king, and to get rid of the cardinal of Lorraine. The prince of Conde, who was supposed to be the head of that frustrated conspiracy, was arrested, thrown into prison, condemned to death; and they were proceeding to put the sentence in execution, when the king's sudden death, December 5th, prevented that of the prince.

*Ann. 1561.*

Elizabeth gives orders to her ambassador in France to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but though Mary had desisted after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England, she refuses to make any formal renunciation of her pretensions. Meanwhile the queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, rendered Mary's abode in France so disagreeable that she thought of returning to her native country, where she was invited to come by a deputation of the states; she sent accordingly M. d'Oysel to demand of Elizabeth, a safe conduct in case she should be obliged to pass through England; but she received for answer, that till she had given satisfaction by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person she had so much injured.

Mary, in a long conference with Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, explained her sentiments concerning this ungenerous behaviour of his mistress in a strain of dignified expostulation, which conveys an idea of her abilities, address and spirit, as advantageous as any transaction in her reign. Mary's resentment did not retard her departure from France. After bidding adieu to her mourning attendants; with a sad heart and eyes bathed in tears, she quitted that country which had witnessed the short but only scene of her life, in which fortune smiled upon her; and after an absence of near thirteen years, she landed safely at Leith, August 19th, and from that moment, the rude and violent demeanour of the reformers filled her life with bitterness and sorrow.

The queen of Scots soon found that the best means of maintaining tranquillity in her kingdom,

was to preserve a good understanding with Elizabeth ; she sent accordingly secretary Lidington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of mutual good-will and friendly intercourse ; and he received a commission from her, as well as from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing this friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament or by proclamation, be declared successor to the crown. The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly assumed the title of queen of England, and pretended a superior right to her throne ; that though her ambassadors had signed a treaty, in which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and constantly refused to ratify this equitable treaty ; that her partizans everywhere had still the assurance to insist on her title, and had presumed to talk of her own birth as illegitimate ; that while a claim thus openly made, so far from being formally renounced, was only suspended till a more favourable opportunity, it would, in her, be the most egregious imprudence to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor ; that kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though their own children, much more when their connection was less intimate, and when such causes of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and were still continued on the part of Mary, which was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs against her ; that for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England ; and after her death, it was the business of others to determine who had the best pretensions ; that she hoped that the claim of the queen of Scots would be then

found solid ; and considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence, if she promised in the mean time to do nothing which might in any respect weaken or invalidate it.

These motives were so wise and just, that there was no likelihood of Elizabeth ever departing from them ; but that she might put the matter to a fuller proof, she offered to explain the equivocal words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion that the expressions *in any time to come*, might exclude Mary's right of succession, and in this form she again required her to ratify that treaty. Mary agreed to the proposal, provided Elizabeth would consent to declare her the successor. But such was the jealous character of this latter princess, that she even refused to strengthen the interest and authority of any claimant by fixing the succession ; much less would she make this concession in favour of a rival queen, which possessed such plausible pretensions for the present, and could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity.

A very singular and unaccountable act of Elizabeth's severity or jealousy took place about this time, to the great misfortune of lady Catherine Gray, sister to the late lady Jane Gray. She had privately married lord Hertford, son to the late protector, Somerset. By him she had one child, a circumstance which alarmed Elizabeth, who seemed to be afraid lest a pretender to the succession should acquire credit by having issue. Both husband and wife were sent to separate confinement in the tower ; their commerce was declared unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. But by bribing their keepers, they found means to have farther intercourse, and another child was the fruit of it. Elizabeth, enraged at it, made a fine of fifteen thousand pounds be set on Hertford by the star chamber, and ordered his confinement to be more rigid.

He lay in this condition for nine years, till the death of his wife, by freeing Elizabeth from all fears, procured him his liberty. She did not act with the same severity towards two nephews of the late cardinal Pole, who were brought to their trial for intending to withdraw into France, with a view of soliciting succours to be enabled to proclaim Mary queen of England. They confessed the indictment, but asserted, that they never meant to execute these projects during the queen's life-time, but in case of her demise, which some pretenders to judicial astrology had assured them they might with certainty look for before the year expired. They were condemned by the jury, but received a pardon from the queen's clemency.

The queen was now free from all apprehensions of seeing the tranquillity of her kingdom disturbed either by France, which civil and religious dissensions prevented from attending to any foreign war, or from Scotland, where she had acquired an influence far superior to that of queen Mary, who was besides too much depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects, to entertain the least idea of any attempt to enforce her claim to the English throne. Elizabeth wisely employed that interval of leisure in improving her finances, paying the crown debts, and strengthening her frontiers on the side of Scotland. She regulated the coin, much debased by her predecessors, furnished her arsenals with great quantities of arms, made frequent reviews of the militia, introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; she encouraged agriculture, by allowing a free exportation of corn; she promoted trade and navigation, and so much increased the shipping of England, both by building stout vessels fit for war, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants,

that she was deservedly styled *the restorer of naval glory, and the queen of the Northern Seas*.

Though Elizabeth had solemnly declared her preference in favour of celibacy, the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, Eric, king of Sweden, prince Casimir, son of the elector palatine, and Adolphus, duke of Holstein, made applications to her; and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her majesty as a suitable marriage. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained some hopes of success, and among them the earl of Arundel, descended from an ancient family, and possessed of great riches, and sir William Pickering, a man much esteemed for his merit. But the person most likely to succeed was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by his exterior qualities, address and flattery, had become in a manner her declared favourite. But either out of policy or female coquetry, the queen, who was never displeased with the courtship, solicitation, and professions of love, gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit.

*Ann. 1562.*

The attention of Elizabeth was, at this period, attracted towards France, where the Huguenot party, cruelly oppressed by the house of Guise, earnestly implored her assistance, as the most powerful support of the protestant interest throughout Europe. A great part of the province of Normandy was then possessed by the Huguenots, and prince Conde, one of their most illustrious leaders, offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the

English ; on condition that together with three thousand men for the garrison of the place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand more to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns. Elizabeth considered, that as Havre de Grace commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it might possibly be of more importance than Calais, or at least an adequate compensation for its loss ; she accordingly accepted Conde's proposals. Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre de Grace and Dieppe, under the command of sir Edward Poinings, but the latter place was found so little susceptible of defence, that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the catholics, and it was with great difficulty that Poinings succeeded in throwing a small reinforcement into the place, which did not prevent the catholics from carrying it by assault, and putting the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre, with another body of three thousand men, and took on him the command of the place. In the mean time the Huguenots led by Conde were defeated by the royalists, commanded by the constable of Montmorency, at Druex, where, by a strange caprice of fortune, each party left his general a prisoner. Admiral de Coligny collected the remains of the army, kept them in a body, and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of one hundred thousand crowns, and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give him bond for another sum of equal amount.

In the beginning of summer, queen Mary being desirous of entering into a more intimate



correspondence and familiarity with Elizabeth, employed Maitland to invite her to an interview somewhere in the north of England. As this proposal could not be rejected with decency, all the circumstances of the meeting were instantly agreed upon. But Elizabeth was too prudent to admit into her kingdom a rival, who outshone herself so far in beauty and gracefulness of person; and who excelled so eminently in all the arts of insinuation and address. Under pretence of being confined to London by the attention which she was obliged to give to the civil wars in France, she put off the interview for that season, and always found some plausible excuse to postpone it from one year to another.

*Ann. 1563.*

A parliament was summoned at the beginning of the year, when the queen was quite recovered from the small pox, which, for some days had put her life in so imminent danger, that the partizans of Mary of Scotland, and those of the house of Suffolk, already divided the nation into factions, the usual forerunners of civil war. The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen, in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a doubtful succession, and the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions by choosing some husband, whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey; or if she still entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, or at least appointed by act of parliament. They remarked, that the nation had never before

been so unhappy as not to know the person, who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the throne.

This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen. She was by no means inclined to marry, and as to settling the succession, she was sensible that every heir was in some degree a rival. She gave, therefore, an evasive answer to the address of the commons; and at the end of the session, when the speaker, in the name of the house, desired farther satisfaction on that head, she could not be prevailed on to make a more explicit reply.

The most remarkable law passed this session was that which bore the title of *Assurance of the Queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions*. This act fixed the penalties to be inflicted on those who did not acknowledge the royal supremacy. Other acts of lesser importance were passed against foolish and fantastical prophecies, tending to seduce the people into rebellion, and against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft. After the parliament had granted the queen a liberal supply of one tenth and two fifteenths, the session was prorogued. The convocation likewise voted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound payable in three years.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and prince Conde, it had been stipulated that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was little attended to by the leaders of the French protestants in their negotiations for the peace just now concluded. They only comprehended the queen so far in the treaty as to obtain a promise, that on her relinquishing Havre, her charges and the money which she had advanced them should be re-paid her by the king of France, and that Calais, on the expiration of the term pre-

viously stipulated, should be restored to her; but thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent orders to Warwick to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The earl of Warwick had employed every means for putting the place in the best state of defence, and after expelling the French from the town, he encouraged his soldiers to the most desperate resistance against the enemy; but unfortunately the plague crept in among the garrison, which consisted of six thousand men, and it made such ravages in a few days, that at last there remained only one thousand five hundred in a condition to do duty. Thus Warwick found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in London. Above twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year.

. 1564.

The peace between France and England was concluded April 22d. It was agreed that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais, should be restored for two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, and that both sides should retain all their claims and pretensions. The treaty was sworn by the king of France at Lyons, where it was presented to him with the order of the garter by lord Hunsdon.

A cordial friendship seemed now to exist between the queens of England and Scotland; they wrote every week the most affectionate letters to each other, and had adopted in all appearance the sentiments as well as the style of sisters. Elizabeth

punished one Hales, who had published a pamphlet against Mary's title, and as the lord-keeper Bacon was thought to have countenanced the author, he fell under her displeasure, and was not reinstated in her favour without great difficulty. Mary had now continue nearly three years in a state of widowhood. Her gentle administration had secured the hearts of her subjects, who were no less impatient for her marriage than the English for the marriage of Elizabeth, and at the same time more likely to succeed in their solicitations, as Mary had discovered no antipathy against matrimony. The fame of her accomplishments, together with the favourable circumstance of her having one kingdom already in her possession, and the prospect of succeeding to another, prompted many different princes to court an alliance so illustrious; namely, the archduke Charles Ferdinand's third son, Don Carlos of Spain, at that time the heir of the extensive dominions of the Spanish monarchy; and the duke of Anjou, the youngest brother of her former husband.

Elizabeth, who had already experienced what use might be made of Mary's pretensions, when supported by a powerful alliance, observed with the most anxious attention all her deliberations concerning her marriage, and instructed Randolph, her ambassador in Scotland, to remonstrate in the strongest terms against an alliance with any of these princes, and to acquaint Mary that as she should consider such a match as a breach of the personal friendship in which they were so happily united, so the English nation would regard it as the dissolution of that confederacy which now subsisted between the two kingdoms; that in order to preserve their own religion and liberties, they should in all probability take some step prejudicial to her right of succession, which, as she well knew, they neither wanted power nor pretences to invalidate

and set aside. This threatening was accompanied with a promise, but expressed in very ambiguous terms, that if Mary's choice of a husband should prove agreeable to the English nation, Elizabeth would appoint proper persons to examine her title to the succession, and if well founded, command it to be publicly recognized. Meanwhile she threw out some obscure hints, that a native of Britain would be her safest and most inoffensive choice; she observed, however, a mysterious silence concerning the person whom she reserved to propose in some future negotiation. This advice, and the style of superiority in which it was given, wounded undoubtedly the pride of the Scottish queen; but in her present situation, destitute of all foreign assistance, she was obliged to court a rival, whom, without manifest imprudence she could not venture to offend.

After keeping the matter in these general terms during a twelvemonth, Elizabeth at last named lord Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she wished that Mary's choice should fall. Leicester, the great favourite of the queen, was endowed with all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex, and often supply or conceal the deficiency of all other accomplishments. Such was the case with Leicester; but by his flattering, insinuating behaviour he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth on his great defects, or rather odious vices. Her constant and declared attachment to him, had so much raised his ambitious hopes, that he confidently aspired to her hand, and was much disappointed by the proposal of marrying only the queen of Scotland: he did not know that Elizabeth herself had no serious intention of effecting this marriage. But as she was desirous that the queen of Scots should never have any husband, she proposed one,

who, she believed, would not be accepted, and she hoped by that means to gain time and elude the project of any other alliance. The high spirit of the Scottish queen could not well bear the first overture of such a match, and made her sensibly feel how humbling and disrespectful Elizabeth's proposal was. She dissembled, however, with the English resident, and even mentioned Leicester with terms full of respect.

A treaty of marriage proposed by one queen, who dreaded success, listened to by another who was secretly determined against it, could not be brought to a fortunate issue. Both Elizabeth and Mary continued, however, to act with equal dissimulation. The former, notwithstanding her fears of losing Leicester, solicited warmly in his behalf: the latter, though she began about this time to cast her eyes upon another English subject, did not at once venture finally to reject Elizabeth's favourite.

The person towards whom Mary began to turn her thoughts was Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lennox, by lady Margaret Douglas, who was Mary's most dangerous rival in her claim upon the English succession, as she was the daughter, and Mary only grand-daughter of Margaret the eldest sister of Henry VIII. Mary, well aware of all this, had early endeavoured to cultivate a friendly correspondence with the family of Lennox, to prevent any danger from that quarter. From the time that she became sensible of the difficulties which would attend her marrying a foreign prince, she entered into a still closer connexion with the earl of Lennox, and invited him to return into Scotland. This she endeavoured to conceal from Elizabeth, who, however, discovered the transaction but did not interrupt it, as nothing could more perfectly concur with her views concerning Scottish affairs. Darnley's father's estate lay in England, and by means of that pledge, she hoped to keep the

negociation entirely in her own hands, to play the same game of artifice and delay which she had planned out, and of which Leicester would have been the instrument, if her recommendation of him had been more favourably received. No sooner did Lennox, under pretence of prosecuting his wife's claims, apply to Elizabeth for her licence to go into Scotland, than he obtained it. She even gave him letters warmly recommending his person and cause to Mary's friendship and protection. But at the same time, as she always involved her transactions with regard to Scotland in some degree of perplexity and contradiction, she warned Mary that this indulgence towards Lennox might prove fatal to herself by reviving the ancient animosity between him and the house of Hamilton.

This admonition drew from Mary a peevish letter, which occasioned for some time a total interruption of correspondence between the two queens. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots dispatched sir James Melvil to London, an agreeable courtier, a man of address, who found it no difficult matter to bring about a seemingly amicable reconciliation. As far as the particular and curious account he has given in his memoirs of this negociation can be depended on, it appears that he succeeded so well in insinuating himself into Elizabeth's confidence, that he threw the artful princess entirely off her guard, and made her discover that with the most eminent qualities of a great monarch, her heart was full of all those levities, weaknesses, follies, and ideas of rivalry, the usual infirmities of her sex. Melvil talked to her of his travels, mentioning the different dresses of the ladies in different countries. The queen said, "that she had  
" dresses of all countries ; and she took care thence-  
" forth to meet the ambassador every day ap-

“ parelled in a different habit, and she asked him  
“ which of them became her most ? He answered,  
“ the Italian ; a reply, which he knew would be  
“ agreeable to her, because that mode shewed to  
“ advantage her flowing locks, which he remarked  
“ she thought to be the finest in the world, though  
“ they were more red than yellow. She asked him  
“ what was reputed the best colour of hair, and  
“ whether his queen or she had the finest ? She  
“ even enquired which of them he esteemed the  
“ fairest person ? a very delicate question, which he  
“ prudently eluded by saying, that her majesty  
“ was the fairest person in England, and his mis-  
“ tress in Scotland. She next demanded which of  
“ them was tallest : he replied, his queen ; *then is*  
“ *she too tall ?*” said Elizabeth, “ *for I myself am*  
“ *of a just stature.* Having learned from him that  
“ his mistress played on the harpsichord, an instru-  
“ ment on which she herself excelled, she gave  
“ orders to lord Hunsdon, that he should lead the  
“ ambassador as it were casually, into an apart-  
“ ment where he might hear her perform ; and  
“ when Melvil, as if ravished with the harmony,  
“ broke into the queen’s apartment, she pretended  
“ to be displeased with this intrusion ; but still took  
“ care to ask him, whether he thought Mary or  
“ her the best performer on that instrument,”  
(*Melvil*, p. 49, 50, 83, 104.)

Elizabeth too was very fond of loud music, and used to listen during her meals to twelve trumpets and two kettle drums, which, together with fifes and side drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together.

From the whole of Elizabeth’s behaviour, Melvil concluded, that Mary had no cordial friendship, neither plain dealing nor upright meaning to expect from her, but great dissimulation, envy, and fear ;



an observation which could likewise be extended without injustice to Mary's subsequent conduct towards Elizabeth.

Lennox, however, in consequence of the licence he had obtained, set out for Scotland, and was received by Mary with such respectful distinction, that the rumour of her marriage with his son began to spread over the kingdom, though she had not yet seen him.

*Ann. 1565.*

Two years had already been consumed in fruitless negotiation concerning the marriage of the Scottish queen, when Mary discerning at last the fallacy and deceit of all Elizabeth's proceedings respecting that affair, resolved to bring her to some explicit declaration of her sentiments. With this view she intimated to Randolph, that on condition her right of succession to the crown of England was publicly acknowledged as offered to her in case she should marry Leicester, she was ready to yield to Elizabeth's solicitations in his behalf. Nothing could be farther than this from the mind and intention of Elizabeth ; but on finding herself thus entangled in her own snare, how to retreat with decency, how to elude her former offer, was not a little perplexing. It was undoubtedly to this perplexity that the young lord Darnley was indebted for the facility with which he obtained permission to visit the court of Scotland, though Elizabeth had the most positive information respecting his ambitious hopes. But as she could not reconcile herself to the idea of Mary's contracting any marriage, she tried all means to prevent it, and none could better answer her purpose than involving again and again the queen of Scots in the tedious intricacies of new negotiations. She had already brought Leicester

upon the stage, who, under her management, had, for a long time amused Mary, and she hoped no less absolutely to direct the motions of the young Darnley, who was likewise her subject. As to the message whereby Mary had signified her willingness to accept of Leicester, she answered in such terms as plainly unravelled her original intention in that scheme. She promised, if Leicester's marriage with the Scottish queen should take place, to advance him to great honours; but with regard to Mary's title to the English succession, she would never suffer any legal inquiry to be made concerning it, nor permit it to be publicly recognized, until she herself should declare her resolution never to marry. This deep-laid scheme was in a moment disconcerted by the sudden and passionate impression which Mary felt at the first sight of her new suitor. Lord Darnley was at this time in the first bloom and vigour of youth. In beauty and gracefulness of person he surpassed all his cotemporaries; he excelled in such arts as add ease and elegance to external form, and which enable it not only to dazzle but to please. His conquest of the heart of the queen became complete, and inclination now prompted her to conclude a marriage, the first thoughts of which had been suggested by considerations merely political. Her impatience for the conclusion was still increased by her resentment for the contempt, artifice, and mockery with which she had been so long abused by Elizabeth, under the veil of friendship. But the celebration was postponed, as the parties were so nearly related, that agreeably to the canon law their marriage could not take place without a dispensation from the pope. For this purpose, a negotiation was early set on foot with the court of Rome, and another with the court of France, to procure the consent of the French king and his mother.

Elizabeth, on the first application of Darnley, had given him permission to follow his father into Scotland, though she knew that the negociation for his marriage advanced apace. It was thenceforth naturally presumed that she approved of the union, which it was entirely in her power to prevent by prohibiting Darnley's stirring out of London; she no sooner heard, however, that all measures for the marriage were settled, than she exclaimed against it, ordered Darnley upon his allegiance to return immediately to England; threw the countess of Lennox and her second son into the tower, seized all Lennox's English estates, and though she could not assign a single reason for her displeasure, she menaced, protested, complained, as if she had suffered the greatest injury, and by this artifice and duplicity she prepared a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, a point to which she was determined never to consent.

The pope's bull of dispensation for Mary's marriage being arrived, the ceremony was performed in her chapel, July 29th, according to the rites of the Romish church. She issued at the same time proclamations, conferring the title of king of Scots upon her husband, and commanding that thenceforth all writs at law should run in the joint names of king and queen. The zeal of the reformers was rekindled by this marriage, as the family of Lennox was presumed to be attached to the catholic faith; some discontents of a more immediate danger prevailed also among some of the principal nobility, who entered into a conspiracy for taking arms against their sovereign, met at Stirling, and affecting an anxious concern for the security of religion, framed engagements for mutual defence; and made application to Elizabeth for assistance and protection. They secretly received from her ambassadors,

Randolph and Throgmorton, some promises of support in her name, and even a supply of ten thousand pounds to enable them to begin an insurrection. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion: Mary was esteemed and beloved, and the interested views of the malcontent lords was so well known, that their pretended zeal for religion had little influence even on the populace. The king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army, which amounted to eighteen thousand men, and reduced the rebels to the necessity of taking shelter in England.

Elizabeth's expectations being thus disappointed, she thought proper to disavow all connexions with the malcontents, and to declare publicly, that she had never given them any encouragement nor any promise of countenance or assistance. She even seduced some of the leaders, by secret assurances of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had nowise contributed to their insurrection. No sooner had she extorted this confession from them, than she banished them from her presence calling them unworthy traitors. Throgmorton alone, whose honour was equal to his abilities, could not be prevailed on to conceal the part which he had acted in the enterprise of the Scottish rebels, and as he had foreseen how this affair could turn, he had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorize the engagements he had been obliged to take with them. Notwithstanding this shameful scene of falsehood, Elizabeth permitted the malcontents peaceably to reside in her dominions, and supplied them secretly with money.

The most judicious partizans Mary had in England, advising her that nothing would more promote her interest in that kingdom than the gentle treatment of men so celebrated for their zeal against the catholic religion, she agreed to give way to her

naturally forgiving temper, and she seemed determined to restore them to favour.

The first root of potatoes was brought this year into England by captain Hawkins, from Santa Fé in New Spain. Sir Walter Raleigh soon after planted it on his lands in Ireland.

*Ann. 1566.*

At this juncture, an interview between the king of France, Charles IX. and his sister the queen of Spain, was appointed at Bayonne. Catherine of Medicis accompanied her son; the duke of Alva attended his mistress. In this interview, a scheme was formed and measures were concerted for the general extermination of the Huguenots in France, of the protestants in the Low Countries, and for suppressing the reformation throughout all Europe. Mary was informed of this bloody plan by a French envoy, who conjured her, in the name of the king of France and the cardinal of Lorraine, to take care that her measures should correspond with those which were adopted by the other catholic princes. These violent counsels turned her from the road of clemency, and made her resolve on the total ruin of the banished lords by attainting them. The time of the prorogation of parliament was shortened for that purpose, and the 12th of March was fixed for its meeting. Mary determined at the same time to take some steps towards the re-establishment of the catholic religion in Scotland. The lords of the articles were chosen as usual to prepare the business which was to come before the parliament. They were all persons in whom the queen could confide. Therefore, the danger of the reformed church was no less imminent than that of the rebellious lords, when an event unexpectedly happened which saved both.

Darnley's external accomplishments had alone excited that violent and blind passion which raised him to the throne, and prevented Mary from perceiving how ill qualified he was to fill it. Of a weak understanding, conceited, at the same time, of his abilities and distinguished merit, to which he ascribed entirely his extraordinary success; all the queen's favour could make no impression on such a temper; all her gentleness could not bridle his impetuous and ungovernable spirit. Fond of all the amusements and even prone to all the vices of youth, he became by degrees careless of her person and a stranger to her company. To a woman and a queen, such behaviour was intolerable; and in proportion to the strength of her first affection, was the violence with which her disappointed passion now operated, and produced no less alteration in her temper and character than in her happiness. From this fatal circumstance, indeed, may be dated all the subsequent calamities of Mary's life. The extravagance of Darnley's ambition gave rise to their first quarrels. Instead of being satisfied with the title, honours, and authority which Mary, by an unprecedented stretch of power, had conferred on him; he demanded the *crown matrimonial* with the most insolent importunity, as by it his authority would have been in some measure co-ordinate with that of the queen, and without his concurrence manifested by signing his name, no public deed could have been considered as valid. Though Mary alledged that this gift was beyond her power, and that the authority of parliament was to be interposed to bestow it, he would never admit so just a defence and unceasingly renewed his demand with more importunity.

There was at Mary's court one David Rizzio, a Piedmontese musician, whom she had at first attached to her music band, and lately promoted to

the office of secretary for French dispatches, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person, and insinuating himself into her favour. He was soon regarded as the chief confident and even minister of the queen; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession. He was consulted on all occasions, all suitors were obliged to gain him by presents and flattery; and the man, insolent from his new exaltation, soon drew on himself the hatred of the nobility and the whole kingdom. It was easy for Darnley's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the real author of Mary's indifference, and even to rouse in his mind jealousies of a more dangerous nature. Though the ugly figure of Rizzio could not easily agree with any idea of Mary's having a criminal correspondence with that mean upstart foreigner, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which she honoured him, and a surmise once conceived became to him a certainty. He soon therefore consulted with some lords, his friends, who not only fanned the conflagration in his mind, but offered their assistance to dispatch Rizzio. They settled immediately among them the means and circumstances of his assassination, and determined that it should be committed in the queen's presence, as a punishment for her indiscretions. Mary was at this time in the sixth month of her pregnancy.

On the appointed day for this horrible deed, nearly at eight o'clock in the evening, while the queen was sitting at supper with lady Argyle, her natural sister, and David *with his cap upon his head, there came in the king and lord Ruthven, who willed David to come forth, saying, that was no place for him. The queen said that it was her will. Her husband answered, that it was against her honour. The lord Ruthven said that he should*

learn better his duty, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the blychtes of her gown, and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him; but the king having loosed his hand, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bed chamber, into the chamber of presence, where were the lord Morton, lord Lindsey.....So many being about him, that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many others, so that he had in his body above (fifty) wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left sticking in him. Whether he struck him or not we cannot be here certain. He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the chamber of presence, (Part of a letter from the earl of Bedford and Mr. Thomas Randolph to the lords of the council of England, from Berwick, 27th of March 1566. *An original in the Cottonian Library, Caligula, B. 10. fol. 372.*)

The unhappy queen informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said she would weep no more, but think of revenge. The assassins, apprehensive of her resentment, detained her prisoner in the palace. Murray and the lords against whom an attainder was preparing, appeared two days after, and Mary, whose anger was now engrossed by more violent and recent injuries, was willingly reconciled to them. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes.

Mary had no sooner obtained that the guards which surrounded her should be withdrawn, than by her persuasion and caresses, she succeeded in regaining the confidence of her husband, and engaged him to escape with her in the night time, and retire



to Dunbar, where, having collected an army which the conspirators had no power to resist, she advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great distress. They made applications, however, to the earl of Bothwell, her new favourite, and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, pacified Mary's resentment, and procured them liberty to return into their own country. But nothing could mollify her rancour against Darnley: she engaged him to deny publicly any concurrence in Rizzio's assassination, and even to issue a proclamation containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with indignation; then, as if she was making an escape from him, she suddenly withdrew to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Marre's, and when Darnley followed her thither she immediately returned to Edinburgh, and gave him everywhere the strongest proofs of antipathy. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery. She there brought forth a son, June 19th.

Sir James Melvil was immediately dispatched to carry intelligence of this happy and important event to Elizabeth, who, the evening of his arrival in London, was giving a ball to her court at Greenwich, and displaying that alacrity which usually attended her on such occasions. Melvil says, that as soon as she was informed of the prince of Scotland's birth, all her joy was damped; she sunk into melancholy, and reclining her head upon her arm, complained to some of her attendants that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. Next day, how-

ever, she put on a joyful countenance, expressed to Melvil her sincere joy at the agreeable intelligence, and the utmost cordiality to Mary; she willingly accepted the invitation which Mary gave her to stand god-mother to her son, and some time after she dispatched the earl of Bedford with her kinsman, George Cary, son of lord Hunsdon, in order to officiate at the baptism of the young prince; she sent by them some magnificent presents to the queen.

The birth of that prince gave additional zeal to Mary's partizans in England, and even men of both parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the crown. The number and activity of Mary's agents in different parts of the kingdom alarmed Elizabeth, and induced her to forego any advantage, which the ambiguous and artful expressions in the treaty of Edinburgh might afford her. Nothing was now demanded of Mary, but to renounce all title to the crown of England during Elizabeth's life and the lives of her posterity, who on her part engaged to take no step which might prove injurious to Mary's claim upon the succession. The queen of Scots could not, with decency, reject a proposal so equitable; she insisted however, that Elizabeth should order the right upon which she claimed to be legally examined and publicly recognised. But Elizabeth, without any intention of weakening or setting aside the title of the house of Stewart, industriously eluded this request, to keep the question concerning the succession perplexed and undecided.

Such were the circumstances in which a new session of parliament was held after six prorogations. The house of peers, which had hitherto forbore to touch on the delicate point of the settlement of the succession, now took the lead. The

commons, so eagerly emulated the zeal of the lords, that it was proposed in that house, that the question of the succession and that of supply should go hand in hand, as if it was intended to constrain the queen to a compliance with the request of her parliament. The ministers and courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate by positively affirming that the queen was determined to marry; but this was considered merely as an artifice; the ministers therefore, could not succeed in any thing farther than engaging the house, for the sake of decency, to join the question of the queen's marriage with that of a settlement of the crown; and the commons proceeding with great earnestness in the debate, had already appointed a committee to confer with the lords, when express orders were brought them from Elizabeth not to proceed any farther in the matter. The minister Cecil told them that she pledged to the house the word of a queen for the sincerity of her intentions to marry, and expatiated on the many dangers attending the appointment of a successor. The house was not satisfied with these reasons, and still less with the command of abstaining from any debate on the subject; they even went so far as to question whether such a prohibition were not an infringement of the privileges and liberties of the house. The debates grew so warm, that the queen hearing of it, sent for the speaker, and after reiterating her former prohibition, she bade him to inform the house that if any member remained still unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy council and there give his reasons. As the members were disposed still to proceed upon the question notwithstanding these peremptory orders, the queen judiciously preferred to revoke them rather than to see them disobeyed. They were so mollified by this condescension, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more

calmness and temper; they even voted her a supply, to be levied at three payments without annexing any condition to it.

*Ann. 1567.*

The queen dissolved the parliament January 2d, and in her speech on this occasion, she upbraided them with some sharpness on their proceedings, from which however, said she, she reaped this advantage, that she could now distinguish her friends from her enemies. "But do you apprehend," added she, "that I meant to encroach on your liberties? no, it was never my meaning; I only intended to stop you before you approached the precipice. All things have their time, and though you may be blessed with a sovereign more wise and more learned than I, yet I assure you, that none will ever rule over you, who shall be more careful of your safety; and therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude, that notwithstanding the disgusts I have received (for I mean not to part with you in anger), the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their princess's good graces."

This speech alone conveys the most exact idea that can be given of the noblest parts of Elizabeth's character. She carried still farther her dignity on this occasion by her refusal of the third payment of the subsidy granted to her without any condition; saying that money in her subjects' purses was as good to her as in her own exchequer.

Though the queen had eluded for the present the application of parliament, her court itself was full of Mary's partizans, and most of the considerable

men in England seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor: when all the flattering prospects of Mary's situation were blasted by a rapid series of egregious, if not criminal indiscretions, which threw her from the height of her prosperity into infamy and ruin. The earl of Bothwell, a man of the most profligate manners, had lately acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary. Reports of more particular intimacies between them were spread, and gained ground from the increase of her aversion towards her husband. So far were the suspicions against her carried, that Darnley, who had retired to Glasgow, having been seized with an illness of an extraordinary nature immediately on his arrival in that place, it was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which it was pretended she had administered to him. These injurious and most probably unfounded suspicions entirely subsided to the great satisfaction of her friends, when they heard that she was gone to Glasgow to attend her husband in his sickness, that she behaved towards him with great tenderness, and appeared thenceforth determined to live with him on a footing more suitable to the connexion between them. Darnley, not distrusting this sudden reconciliation, put himself into her hands, and attended her to Edinburgh. As the noise of the court in the palace of Holyrood-house, where she lived, might have injured his present state of health, an apartment was fitted up for him in a solitary house at some distance, where Mary continued assiduously to give him marks of kindness and attachment. She lay some nights in a room below his; but on the 9th of February she told him that she would pass that night in the palace, where the marriage of one of her servants was to be celebrated in her presence. During that very night, (about two o'clock,) the house where the king lived, was blown

up by gun-powder, his dead body was found at some distance in an adjacent garden, untouched by fire, and with no bruises or marks of violence.

The suspicions raised by this execrable deed, fell, with almost a general consent, on Bothwell, and some reflections were thrown out against the queen, whose known sentiments with regard to her husband, gave a great appearance of probability to the imputation of being no stranger to the crime. That Bothwell was guilty of it appears, 1st, from the confession of those persons who suffered for assisting at the commission of the crime, and who enter into a minute detail of all its circumstances: 2dly, from the acknowledgment of Mary's own commissioners, who allow Bothwell to have been one of those who were guilty of this crime: 3dly, from Morton's declaration at his death, that Bothwell had solicited him at different times to concur in the conspiracy formed against the life of the king; and that he was informed by Archibald Douglas, one of the conspirators, that Bothwell had been present at the murder.

As to the question whether Mary was accessory to the murder of her husband, or consented to it, it is generally acknowledged that this atrocious imputation cannot be supported by any direct proofs; many strong arguments, grounded on probabilities, conjectures, or presumptive evidence, may certainly be urged against her, but they can never supply the positive evidence, no less requisite for an historian than for a judge to give a verdict of *guilty*, or *not guilty*. Thus, though Mary's famous letters during her stay at Glasgow can leave no doubt that her affected concern and tender cares towards her husband was a complete dissimulation; it does not follow that this dissimulation, which could have many different motives more plausible, had no other object than that of preparing the murder of her husband. It is true that after the

proclamation issued by Mary, offering considerable reward to any person who should discover those who had been guilty of Darnley's murder ; instead of confining to any prison Bothwell, universally reputed the murderer of her husband, she admitted him into all her councils, allowed him to enjoy all the security, dignity and power of a favourite, hurried over his trial, while nothing more than general suspicions and uncertain surmises could be produced by his accusers ; this series of indecent and shameful transactions was completed by the most enormous scandal, namely, her marrying the assassin of her husband, three months only after the murder being committed, and her conniving at, or approving of all the criminal schemes and gross artifices which attended this infamous union, such as her condescending to be seized with an apparent violence on her return from Stirling and conducted as a prisoner by Bothwell, at the head of a thousand horse, to his castle of Dunbar, where this preconcerted outrage was carried so far as to afford her a decent excuse for marrying a man, who besides all his crimes, had been married two years before to a woman of merit, sister to the earl of Huntly, from whom he was divorced by two sentences of the catholic and protestant courts, issued in the short interval of four days. Mary would have been justly accused of a ridiculous dissimulation, had she affected to lament the loss of a husband, whom every body knew she hated as much as he deserved ; but there is no excuse for her hasty forgiveness of his murderer, much less for her losing so far all sense of her dignity and all regard for her character as to marry him ; it may still be supposed, however, that Bothwell presuming on her affection towards him, had of himself committed the crime, and had never communicated it to her. The possibility of this supposition and the total deficiency of positive proofs of her having had any participation

in the murder, are perhaps sufficient grounds to acquit her from it.

Some attempts made by Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, excited the most serious attention, and the principal nobility formed an association for protecting the prince and punishing the king's murderers. Lord Hume, who was first in arms, and at the head of eight hundred horse, suddenly surrounded the queen and Bothwell in the castle of Borthwick. They found means to make their escape to Dunbar. Mary soon became sensible that her own troops, disapproving of her cause, were averse to fight for it, and therefore that no other resource remained than that of putting herself upon some general promises into the hands of the confederates. During the conference which was held on the occasion between Mary and the chiefs of the confederates, Bothwell fled to the sea shore and set sail for the Orkneys, where he subsisted during some time by piracy.

Mary was conducted to Edinburgh amidst the insults of the populace, who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a banner, on which was painted the murderer of her husband and the distresses of her infant son.

The queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from rebellious subjects, who having violated the royal majesty and overturned the throne, have their future security to provide for as well as their present animosity to gratify. Aware of the danger to which they were exposed in case Mary should finally prevail, they sent her next day under a guard to the castle of Lochlevin. The mistress of the house was the earl of Murray's mother, and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she natu-



rally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness. Bothwell was pursued to the Orkneys, and his ship was taken with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder. Bothwell himself escaped in a boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years after.

Elizabeth had, by friendly letters and messages to the queen of Scots, strongly remonstrated against that fatal marriage with Bothwell, the only cause of her present calamities; and though these representations had been utterly disregarded, she was touched with compassion and displayed towards the unfortunate princess, that generous magnanimity which behoved her high character. All her fears and jealousies being now laid asleep by the consideration of the precarious state of the royal dignity, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects, she resolved to employ her authority for rescuing her unhappy kinswoman from captivity and infamy, and placing her in such a condition as would at once be compatible with the majesty of her rank and the safety of her subjects. She accordingly sent Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; and she gave him instructions, which though mixed with some lofty pretensions, were full of that good sense and generosity which the present interesting conjuncture had called forth. Elizabeth conjured the captive queen to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, except against the murderers of her husband; and to consider that as she herself was his near relation, she was better entitled than the subjects of Mary to interpose her authority on that head; that after the punishment of her husband's assassins, and her own liberty were provided for, the safety of her infant son was next to be considered, and

that nothing could better answer that purpose than sending him to be educated in England ; and that besides his security, there were many other beneficial consequences which it was easy to foresee as the result of his education in that country.

Throgmorton was empowered to tell the associated lords, that any opposition to their sovereign was totally unjustifiable and incompatible with all order and good government ; that it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish the mal-administration of their prince ; and the only arms which subjects could in any case lawfully employ against the supreme authority, were entreaties, counsels, and representations ; that she required them to restore their queen to liberty, and promised in that case to concur with them in all proper expedients, for punishing the king's murderers, and for the safety of their infant prince.

Zealous as Throgmorton was, all his endeavours and address proved ineffectual. He found not only the confederate nobles, but the nation in general, so far alienated from the queen, and so much offended with the indecent precipitancy of her marriage with the reputed murderer of her husband, as to be incapable of listening to any proposition in her favour. In justification of this rigour, the confederates maintained that Mary's affection for Bothwell was still unabated and openly avowed by her ; that she disdainfully rejected every proposal for dissolving their marriage. For this reason they peremptorily denied Throgmorton access to their prisoner, and what propositions he made to them in her behalf they either refused or eluded.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of the unfavourable issue of Throgmorton's negotiation, than she endeavoured to induce a party of the nobles, who were assembled at Hamilton, to take arms in order to restore their queen to liberty, promising to

assist them to the utmost of her power ; but she equally failed in the attempt. Disgust and contempt had so completely extinguished all feelings of loyalty towards Mary, that the nobles allowed an inconsiderable part of their body to dispose of her person at pleasure, and to settle the government of the kingdom.

After many consultations it was agreed at last, that Mary was to be persuaded or forced to resign the crown ; the young prince was to be proclaimed king ; and the earl of Murray was to be appointed to govern the kingdom, with the name and authority of regent, during the prince's minority. Nothing was determined with regard to the queen's own person, in order to keep her in such apprehensions about her fate as to frighten her into compliance with the scheme agreed on. At the same time Mary was informed by the faithful Robert Melvil and some other persons among the confederates who were most attentive to her interest, that a resignation, extorted by fear during her imprisonment, was void in law, and might be revoked as soon as she recovered her liberty. Throgmorton, by a note which he found means of conveying to her, suggested the same information. She accordingly, though with the bitterest pangs of grief and indignation, yielded to every thing which was required, and signed all the papers which were presented to her. The coronation of her son James VI. took place immediately, July 29th. Murray, returning from France, on his nomination to the regency, waited on his sister Mary in her prison, and expostulated so warmly with her concerning her past conduct, charging her faults so home upon her, that the unfortunate princess, who had flattered herself with more gentle and brotherly treatment from him, melted into tears, and abandoned herself entirely to despair. After this inexcusable scene of cruelty,

Murray accepted the office of regent, August 22d, and acted in that character without opposition. He summoned a parliament December 15th, which granted every thing the confederates could demand. Mary's resignation of the crown was accepted and declared to be valid. The king's authority and Murray's election, were recognised and confirmed. The imprisoning the queen, and all the other proceedings of the confederates were pronounced lawful. The letters which Mary had written to Bothwell were produced, and she was declared to be accessory to the murder of the king.

The term fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis being expired, Elizabeth made a formal demand for the restitution of Calais, at the gates of that city, and dispatched sir Thomas Smith to Paris to enforce her claim, but the answer of the French court was, that Elizabeth having undoubtedly committed an act of hostility by taking possession of Havre de Grace, she was deprived of any right by another article of the same treaty.

Elizabeth entered into a new negociation for marrying the Archduke Charles ; but as she would not agree that he should enjoy any power or title in England, and even refused him the exercise of his religion, the treaty came to nothing.

*Ann. 1568.*

Several attempts had been made to procure the queen of Scots an opportunity of escaping, which had been hitherto disappointed. At last she succeeded in gaining George Douglas, her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen. She treated him with the most insinuating affability and flattering distinction ; she even allowed him to entertain the most ambitious hopes, by letting fall some expressions as if she would chuse him for a husband

after her marriage with Bothwell should be dissolved on the plea of force. Douglas could not resist such a temptation, and drew others into the plot. One evening, May 2d, while his brother was at supper, he found means to steal the keys out of his chamber, and opening the gates to the queen and one of her maids, she was received into a boat prepared for her, and hastened to Hamilton. The news of her arrival in that place being immediately spread abroad, her court was filled in a few days with a great and splendid train of nobles, accompanied with such numbers of followers, as formed an army above six thousand strong: in their presence she declared that the resignation of the crown and the other deeds she had signed during her imprisonment, were extorted from her by fear, which was confirmed by Robert Melvil; all these transactions were accordingly pronounced void and illegal. At the same time, an association was formed for the defence of her person, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction.

Elizabeth, no sooner heard of Mary's escape, than she discovered her intention of persevering in the same friendly and generous measures she had hitherto pursued. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland, to offer both her good offices and the assistance of her forces to Mary. But the regent was so active and so bold in his exertions, that though the army he assembled was much inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her, and obtained at Langside a decisive victory, which was followed by the total dispersion of Mary's party. The unhappy princess fled with great precipitation and a few attendants, and was determined by the late kind behaviour of Elizabeth to take shelter in England.

She embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at about thirty miles from Carlisle, whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth and craving her protection.

An event so extraordinary, and the conduct which might be proper in consequence of it, drew the whole attention of Elizabeth and her council. The question would have been soon decided, had Elizabeth attended only to the noble impulse of her heart, as she had lately done. But with her counsellors the question was not, what was more just and generous, but what was more beneficial to herself and to the English nation. They observed, that to restore Mary to the full exercise of the royal authority in Scotland, would render her more powerful than ever, and would enable her to revive with more success her own pretensions to the English crown; that the memory of her obligations to Elizabeth would soon be effaced by the consideration of her own interest, as gratitude of princes was seldom to be depended on; that though her claims to the English throne were altogether extravagant, they did not appear in that light to a great part of the nation; that her beauty, her address, her sufferings, by the admiration and pity which they would excite, would increase the number of her partizans; that if the crimes of the Scottish princess should, on enquiry, appear as certain as was affirmed, every measure against her which policy should dictate would thence be justified, or if she should be found innocent, every enterprise which friendship should suggest would be acknowledged laudable and glorious; that it was, therefore, first necessary for Elizabeth to ascertain in a regular and satisfactory manner the extent of Mary's guilt, and thence

to determine the degree of protection which she ought to afford her against her rebellious subjects.

Elizabeth, yielding to the unanimous opinion of her council, rather than to her own feelings, dispatched lord Scroope and sir Francis Knollis, her vice chamberlain, to the queen of Scots, with letters full of expressions of kindness and condolence: but at the same time, they had private instructions to watch all her motions, and to take care that she should not escape into her own kingdom. They told Mary, when they were introduced to her, that it was with reluctance, that her admission into the presence of their sovereign was not at present complied with; that while she lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, their mistress, to whom he was so nearly allied, could not see her without bringing a stain upon her own reputation; but as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, they promised her a reception suitable to her dignity, and aid proportioned to her distress.

This insidious pretence led the incautious Mary into the snare in which Elizabeth's ministers wished to entangle her. She frankly offered to submit her cause to the cognizance of Elizabeth, and to produce such proofs of her own innocence, as would satisfy the scruples and delicacy of the English queen. It was easy to foresee that being thus constituted the umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, Elizabeth or her ministers could at pleasure protract the inquiry to any length, as well as perplex and involve it in endless difficulties.

Elizabeth immediately required the regent of Scotland to desist from any further prosecution of Mary's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray replied, that he would himself take a journey to

England attended by other commissioners, and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth. Mary being now sensible that she could not without diminution of her royal dignity, submit to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince, discovered the greatest aversion to the trial proposed; but it was represented to her that Elizabeth had not the least desire of entering into the question without her consent and approbation; that she pretended only as a friend to hear her justification; that she was confident that there would be found no difficulties in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies, and even if her apology should fall short of full conviction, Elizabeth was determined to support her cause, and procure her some reasonable terms of accommodation; and that it was never meant, that she should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects, but on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear, and justify themselves for their conduct towards her. Allured by these plausible professions the queen of Scots agreed to vindicate herself by her own commissioners before those appointed by Elizabeth. In the mean time, as Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, could afford Mary great opportunities of contriving her escape, she was, on some other pretence, removed to Bolton, a seat of lord Scroope's in Yorkshire.

Mary's commissioners, before they gave in their complaints against her enemies in Scotland, entered a protest, that their appearance in the cause should nowise affect the independence of her crown, or be constructed as a mark of subordination to England; and this protest was received but with a reserve to the claim of England. The complaint of that princess was next read; and contained an enumeration of the treasonable actions of Murray and his party against her; of their seizing her person by force of



arms, committing her to prison, compelling her to resign the crown, and making use of her son's name to cover the usurpation of the whole royal authority.

Murray, in his answer to Mary's complaint, confined himself in giving a summary and imperfect account of the late transactions, the motive of which, he said, was the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of the earl of Bothwell, a known murderer of the late king; that Mary still discovering a violent attachment to that man, they had found it necessary for their own and the public safety, to confine her person during a season, till Bothwell and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crimes.

After this conference, in which the queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage, Murray privately paid a visit to the English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the evidence of the queen's guilt, and desired to have some security for Elizabeth's protection, in case that evidence should upon examination appear entirely satisfactory. The duke of Norfolk, one of the English commissioners, who had ever been a partizan to the queen of Scots, was not displeased with these scruples of the regent, and though the proofs against Mary seemed to him unquestionable, he encouraged Murray not to produce them publicly in his conferences before the English commissioners. Norfolk was obliged however to transmit to court the following queries proposed by the regent : 1. Whether the English commissioners had authority from their sovereign to pronounce sentence against Mary, in case her guilt should be fully proved before them? 2. Whether they would promise to exercise that authority, and proceed to an actual sentence? 3. Whether the queen of Scots, if found

guilty, should be delivered into the regent's hands, or at least be so secured in England, that she never would be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland? 4. Whether Elizabeth would also in that case promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority?

These queries being submitted to Elizabeth, she determined to bring the matter to a full light, and under pretext that the distance from her person retarded the proceedings of her commissioners, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, she ordered them to come to London, and there continue their conferences. She immediately joined in commission with them some of the most considerable of her council, namely, sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, admiral, and sir William Cecil, secretary.

Murray's unexpected moderation in this circumstance was owing to an intrigue of the duke of Norfolk, who was at that time the most powerful and most popular man in England. Having lately lost his wife, he had formed a project of mounting the throne of Scotland, by marrying the queen of Scots. He saw the infamy which would be the consequence of a public accusation against her, and how prejudicial it might be to her pretensions to the English succession. In order to save her from this humiliation, he applied to Murray, and friendly warned him of the danger to which he must expose himself by such a violent action as the public accusation of his sovereign. Mary, said he, would never forgive a man who had endeavoured to fix such a brand of infamy on her character. If she ever recovered any degree of power, his destruction would be inevitable; nor would Elizabeth screen him from it, by a public approbation of his conduct; for, whatever evidence of Mary's guilt he

might produce, she was resolved to give no definitive sentence in the cause ; and that if he should be fully convinced how false and insidious her intentions were, he had only to demand that the matter should be brought to decision immediately after hearing the proof. These remonstrances made a deep impression on the regent. He daily received the strongest assurances of Mary's willingness to be reconciled with him if he abstained from accusing her of such an odious crime, and of her irreconcilable hatred, if he acted a contrary part. These considerations determined him to make trial of the expedient which the duke had suggested ; and such was the object of the four queries above mentioned.

Elizabeth, who seemed now to have adopted the ungenerous policy of her council, was much displeased at the present turn of Mary's affair, which she wanted to bring to such a state of intricacy as would enable her to protract as long as she pleased her decision either on the guilt or innocence of the queen of Scotland. She deliberated with the utmost anxiety how she might overcome the regent's scruples, and persuade him to accuse the queen of having been accessory to her husband's murder. She considered also the most proper means of bringing Mary's commissioners to answer such an accusation ; and as she foresaw that the promises with which it was necessary to allure the regent, would naturally exasperate the Scottish queen, if she had any opportunity to be informed of it, she determined to guard her more narrowly than ever, and to remove her for that purpose to Tuthbury in Staffordshire, where she would be committed to the keeping of lord Shrewsbury, to whom that castle belonged.

Mary, whose victory at the first conference had been as complete as necessary to enable the queen to

give her decision, began to suspect the design of the second conference, which was to be held at Westminster, and notwithstanding the satisfaction she expressed at seeing her cause taken more immediately under the queen's own eye, she framed her instructions to her commissioners in such a manner as to avoid being brought under the necessity of answering the accusations of her subjects, if they should be so desperate as to exhibit one against her. These suspicions were confirmed when she heard that Murray, on his arrival in London, had been admitted into Elizabeth's presence, and received by her not only with respect, but with affection. In the first emotions of her resentment, Mary wrote to her commissioners, and commanded them to complain before the English nobles and the ambassadors of the foreign princes, that while her rebellious subjects were allowed access to the queen, she was excluded from her presence: they enjoyed full liberty; she languished under a long imprisonment. For these reasons, she once more renewed her demand of being admitted into the queen's presence: and if that were denied, she instructed them to declare, that she recalled the consent which she had given to the conference at Westminster, and protested, that whatever was done there should be held to be null and invalid. But either the queen's letter did not reach her commissioners, or they were deceived by Elizabeth's professions of regard for their mistress, and consented to the opening of the conference.

A satisfactory answer had been given to the regent's queries, he was no longer influenced by the duke of Norfolk, whose negotiation with him had been discovered by some of Mary's attendants; his personal safety, and even the continuance of his power depended on Elizabeth, as by the laws of Scotland, which she could find means to enforce,

he had no right to the regency. In the mean time the orders and decisions respecting the conference to be held at Westminster, as well as Elizabeth's answer to the regent's queries, were construed in such terms as to place him and his associates in the alternative either of acknowledging themselves to be guilty of rebellion, or of charging Mary with having been accessory to her husband's murder. Murray did not hesitate in the choice; and after some professions of his pretended reluctance in undertaking such a disagreeable task, he charged Mary in the strongest terms, not only with having consented to her husband's murder, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it; with having screened Bothwell from the pursuits of justice; and with having formed designs no less dangerous to the life of the young prince than subversive of the liberties and constitution of the kingdom. If any of these crimes should be denied, an offer was made to produce the most ample and undoubted evidence in confirmation of the charge.

At the next meeting of the commissioners, the earl of Lennox appeared before them, and after bewailing the tragical death of his son, he implored Elizabeth's justice against the queen of Scots, whom he accused upon oath of being the author of the murder, and produced papers, which, as he pretended, would make good what he alledged. The sudden appearance of such a new actor on the stage, so opportunely, and at a juncture so critical, can scarcely be imputed to chance, and could be considered with more probability as a contrivance of Elizabeth's council.

Mary's commissioners expressed the utmost indignation at the regent's audacious accusation, and according to an article of their instructions, they renewed their mistress's request of a personal interview with the queen, and protested, if that were

denied her, against all the future proceedings of the commissioners. A protestation of this nature offered just at the critical moment when the proofs in support of the bold accusation preferred against Mary were to be examined, gave reason to suspect that she dreaded the event of that examination. This suspicion was strongly confirmed by another circumstance; Mary's commissioners privately acquainted Elizabeth's ministers, Leicester and Cecil, that as their mistress had, from the beginning, discovered an inclination towards bringing the differences between herself and her subjects to an amicable accommodation, so she was still desirous, notwithstanding the regent's impudent accusation, that they should be terminated in that manner.

Elizabeth, in her answer to Mary's commissioners, represented to them, that in the present juncture, nothing could be so dishonourable to their mistress as an accommodation, and that the matter would seem to be huddled up in this manner, merely to suppress discoveries, and to hide her shame; nor was it possible that she could be admitted with any decency into her presence, while she lay under the infamy of such a public accusation.

Upon this repulse, Mary's commissioners withdrew, and as they had declined answering, there seemed now to be no further reason for the regent's producing the proofs in support of his charge. But Elizabeth having commanded her commissioners to testify her indignation at the regent's presumption in forgetting so far the duty of a subject as to impute to his sovereign such atrocious crimes; he offered to show that his accusations were neither malicious nor ill grounded. Then were produced and submitted to the commissioners, the confessions of the persons executed for the king's murder, and the fatal casket left by Bothwell in the castle of Edinburgh, and which had been seized in the hands

of the messenger he had sent to fetch it. This casket contained, among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets to Bothwell, and was pretended to be of Mary's hand writing, and three contracts of marriage between Mary and Bothwell, one of which, according to Buchanan's account, had been written by Mary previous to the king's murder, another subscribed by her, and written by the earl of Huntley, and a third, which was the real deed of Mary's marriage. But it must be observed, that of all the particulars respecting this casket, there is no other, proof than Buchanan's testimony, which, when unsupported by any other, deserves little credit, as he was generally known as a mercenary writer.

As soon as Elizabeth got these papers into her possession, she laid them, and in particular the letters, before her privy council, to have them compared for the hand writing and orthography with a variety of letters which she had received at different times from the Scottish queen; and the members of the privy council, and noblemen conjoined with them, as the result of a most accurate collation, declared, that no difference between these could be discovered. From that moment Elizabeth began to lay aside all expressions of friendship and respect which she had hitherto used in all her letters to the Scottish queen. She wanted now to intimidate Mary, and force her to confirm her resignation of the crown, to ratify Murray's authority as regent, and to consent that both herself and her son should reside in England. She proposed that scheme both to Mary and to her commissioners, and neglected no argument that could possibly recommend it. Mary saw how fatal this would prove to her reputation, to her pretensions, and even to her personal safety. She rejected it without hesitation. "Death," she said, "is less dreadful than such an ignominious

“step. Rather than give away with my own hands  
“the crown which descended to me from my an-  
“cestors, I will part with life, but my last words  
“will be those of a queen of Scotland.”

*Ann. 1569.*

Murray was called into the privy council to receive a final declaration of Elizabeth's sentiments. Cecil acquainted him in her name, that on one hand, nothing had been objected to his conduct, which she could reckon detrimental to his honour or inconsistent with his duty; nor had he on the other hand, produced any thing against his sovereign, on which she could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions, and for this reason, she resolved to leave all the affairs of Scotland precisely in the same situation as she had found them at the beginning of the conference. Elizabeth therefore dismissed him, and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds to bear the charges of his journey. Mary's commissioners were dismissed with a declaration to the same purport.

Mary, despairing of ever obtaining any succour from Elizabeth, endeavoured to rouse her own adherents in Scotland to arms, by imputing such designs to Elizabeth and Murray as could not fail to inspire every Scotchman with indignation. But Elizabeth prevented the effects of these intrigues by a counter proclamation, and became more disgusted than ever with the Scottish queen, which, however, she continued to conceal under the outward appearances of concern and attachment for her. She wrote to the regent a letter, containing three different proposals with regard to Mary: that she should either be restored to the full possession of her former authority; or be admitted to reign jointly with the king her son; or at least be allowed



to reside in Scotland, in some decent retirement, without any share in the administration of government. A convention was held at Perth, in order to consider these overtures extorted from Elizabeth by the importunities of Fenelon, the French ambassador. The two former were rejected, and all the circumstances and difficulties relative to the last, could not be finally adjusted but after long delays and endless discussions.

In the mean time Mary wrote a letter to Murray, to demand that her marriage with Bothwell should be reviewed by proper judges, and if found invalid, should be dissolved by a legal sentence of divorce. But her particular motive for proposing it at this time was so well known, that the demand was rejected by the convention of estates. They imputed it not so much to any abhorrence of Bothwell, as to her eagerness to conclude a marriage with the duke of Norfolk, whose scheme on that respect had not been altered by the unsatisfactory result of the late conference. Nor was Mary averse from a measure which would have restored her to her kingdom with so much splendour.

As there were at present no princes of the blood, the duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed the highest title of nobility. His illustrious family, his immense fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him the highest personage in England under the sovereign. His marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess. Murray himself, previous to his return to Scotland, set before Norfolk both the advantages of composing the dissensions in that country by an alliance which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England. In order to bind Norfolk's interests the faster with Mary's, he proposed that the duke's daughter should

also marry the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent was deemed both by Murray and Norfolk to be essential to the success of this project, which was communicated to the queen of Scots by sir Robert Melvil. This princess replied, that notwithstanding the vexations she had met with in her two last marriages, she would be always disposed to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare, and therefore as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwell, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband.

Murray's zeal was not wholly disinterested in this circumstance. He knew the danger which he had to encounter in his return through the north of England from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Mary's partizans in that country, and he dreaded an insurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatellrault and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By the friendly part he seemed to act in Norfolk's scheme, he both engaged the duke to write in his favour to the northern noblemen, and he persuaded the queen of Scots to give to her lieutenants instructions for a cessation of hostilities with the regent's party.

Norfolk, though he had agreed that the queen's consent should be previously obtained for his marriage, had now many reasons to apprehend that he never should prevail with her to make that concession. He therefore attempted to draw the English nobles to approve his design, and the greater part of the peers cordially embraced the proposal as a salutary project. Many of them subscribed a letter to the Scottish queen, written by Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, in which they warmly recommended the match; on condition that the Scottish

queen should attempt nothing in consequence of her pretensions to the English crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or to her posterity; that she should consent to a league offensive and defensive between the two kingdoms; that she should confirm the present establishment of religion in Scotland, and receive into favour such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her. Upon her agreeing to the marriage and ratifying these articles, they engaged that the English nobles would not only concur in restoring her immediately to her own throne, but in securing to her that of England in reversion. Mary readily consented to all these proposals except the second, with regard to which she demanded some time for consulting her ancient ally the French king.

Those who conducted this intrigue had early communicated its object to the kings of France and Spain, and obtained their approbation. They hoped, that so strong a combination would be altogether irresistible, and render it necessary for Elizabeth to give her consent. Nothing was now wanting but a sentence of divorce to remove the only obstacle that stood in the way; but the regent, who had engaged to procure it, reflecting that the downfall of his own power must be the first consequence of the duke's success, declined a step so fatal to himself, and which would have established the grandeur of another on the ruin of his own. But as every other circumstance was settled, the bishop of Ross, in the name of his mistress, and the duke in person, declared in presence of the French ambassador, their mutual consent to the marriage, and a contract to this purpose being signed, was entrusted to the keeping of the ambassador.

The intrigue was now in so many hands that it soon began to be whispered at court. The queen, calling the duke into her presence, expressed the

utmost indignation at his conduct, and charged him to lay aside all thoughts of prosecuting such a dangerous design, all the circumstances of which were successively revealed to her. Murray, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, meanly betrayed the duke, put his letters into her hands, and furnished all the intelligence in his power. Norfolk, in contempt of a summons to appear before the privy council, fled to his seat in Norfolk. Intimidated, however, by the imprisonment of his associates; unprepared for a rebellion, or perhaps unwilling to rebel, he obeyed a second call, and repaired to Windsor, where he was arrested and sent to the tower. After being confined there upwards of nine months, he was released upon his humble submission to Elizabeth, giving her a promise on his allegiance, to hold no farther correspondence with the queen of Scots.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland being no longer kept in awe by the loyal and well-meaning duke of Norfolk, had prepared measures for a rebellion in the north, had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers, and had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, who had promised them a reinforcement of troops, with a supply of arms and ammunition; he had even consented to send one of his most famous captains to be at the head of their army. A rumour of this conspiracy being diffused in the north, the earl of Sussex, who was president at York, sent for Northumberland and Westmoreland, in order to examine them, but not finding any proof against them, he allowed them to depart. This summons precipitated the insurrection before these two leaders were fully prepared; they determined, however, to rise the standard of rebellion without delay, and soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They

published a manifesto, in which they declared that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance, and that their only aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favour. Their army amounted to four thousand foot and one thousand six hundred horse, and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England. Sussex marched against them at the head of seven thousand men; they dispersed at his approach without striking a blow, the common people retired to their houses, the leaders fled into Scotland.

This insurrection was followed soon after by another, raised by a brother of lord Dacres, who, at the head of three thousand men, attempted to support the same cause, and met a similar fate. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprises. Sixty-six petty constables were hanged, and no less than eight hundred persons on the whole suffered by the hands of the executioner.

*Ann. 1570.*

Elizabeth now began to be weary of keeping such a prisoner as the queen of Scots. This latter princess, recovering from that delirium in which she had been thrown by her wretched attachment to Bothwell, had behaved with such modesty, judgment, and even dignity, that every one who approached her were charmed with her demeanour. Many of Elizabeth's subjects favoured or pitied the captive queen; the Roman catholic princes on the continent were warmly interested in her cause, and considered as an unaccountable abuse of Elizabeth's arbitrary power, her violent opposition to Mary's

marrying the duke of Norfolk. To prevent all cabals and insurrections among her partizans in England, and all hostile attempts which were to be apprehended from the kings of France and Spain, Elizabeth resolved to give up Mary into the hands of the regent, after stipulating with him that her days should not be cut short either by a judicial sentence or by secret violence, but that she should be treated in a manner suitable to her rank; and to secure the observance of this, she required that six of the chief noblemen in Scotland should be sent into England as hostages. This negotiation was carried some length, when it was discovered by the vigilance of the bishop of Ross, who, together with the French and Spanish ambassadors, remonstrated against the infamy of such an action, which they represented as a condemnation to instant death. This procured a delay; and the execution of that project was prevented by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton.

Murray's unexpected death struck the king's party with the utmost consternation. Elizabeth bewailed his death as the most fatal disaster which could have befallen her kingdom; and Mary's adherents exulted, as if now her restoration were not only certain, but near at hand. They assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. As many of the principal nobility had embraced that party, Elizabeth, to check its progress, dispatched Sussex with an army to the north, under pretence of repressing the ravages committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland and committed hostilities on all Mary's partizans, who, he said, had offended his mistress by harbouring the English rebels. The houses of the Hamiltons who were engaged in the same party, were demolished. The

English armies were afterwards recalled by agreement with the queen of Scots, who promised, in return, that no French troops should be introduced into Scotland, and that the English rebels should be delivered up to the queen by her partizans.

In all these measures Elizabeth was cautious to appear only as revenging her own quarrels, and never to declare openly against Mary; she even sent a request to the enemies of that princess, not to elect during some time a successor to Murray. A less ambiguous declaration of her real sentiments was soon after obtained, and an extraordinary event seems to have been the occasion of it. Pope Pius V. had, the year before, issued a bull, whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of her kingdom, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, forbidding them to obey her or her monitions, mandates, or laws, under pain of being involved in the same sentence of anathema, which Felton, an Englishman, had the boldness to fix on the gates of the bishop of London's palace. Elizabeth imputed this insult to a combination of the Roman catholic princes against her, and suspected that some plot was formed in favour of the Scottish queen; in which case, she considered that the safety of her own kingdom depended on preserving her influence in Scotland, and wanted to strengthen it. With this view, she renewed her promises of protecting the king's adherents, encouraged them to proceed to the election of a regent, and even ventured to point out the earl of Lennox as the person who had the best title, by his being the grand-father of the present king. His resentment against Mary being implacable, his estate lying in England, and his family residing there, Elizabeth could entertain no doubt that both from inclination and from interest he would act in concert with her. The regency, according to her wishes, was conferred upon

him, in a convention of the whole party held on the 12th of July.

One of the first measures of the new regent was to proclaim the principal leaders of the queen's party traitors and enemies of their country. But peace with the Huguenots being now concluded in France, Elizabeth began to apprehend that Charles would interpose with rigour in behalf of his sister-in-law; she accordingly affected to treat her with more indulgence, and seemed fully determined to replace her on the throne. As a proof of her sincerity, she procured a cessation of hostilities between the two contending factions in Scotland. Soon after, Elizabeth dispatched Cecil, her prime minister, and Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, to the queen of Scots. The dignity of these ambassadors, convinced all parties that the negotiation was serious, and that the end of Mary's misfortunes and captivity was approaching. The propositions which they made to her were advantageous to Elizabeth, but such as a princess in Mary's situation had reason to expect. The ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; the renouncing any pretensions to the English crown, during Elizabeth's own life, or that of her posterity; the adhering to the alliance between the two kingdoms; the pardoning her subjects who had taken arms against her; and her promising to hold no correspondence, and to countenance no enterprise that might disturb Elizabeth's government, were among the chief articles. By way of security for their accomplishment, they demanded that some persons of rank should be given as hostages, that the prince, her son, should reside in England, and that a few castles on the borders, should be put into Elizabeth's hands. Mary transmitted copies of these propositions to the pope, to the kings of France and Spain, and to the duke of Alva, and was advised by them



to conclude the treaty on the best terms she could procure.

Mary accordingly consented to many of Elizabeth's demands, and discovered her disposition to make still further concessions. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, and three more were chosen for the king by the regent for settling the articles of the treaty.

*Ann. 1571.*

The Scottish commissioners, after a very slow journey, at length arrived at London. At their first meeting with the commissioners of the two queens, those of Mary discovered the strongest inclination to comply with every thing that would remove the obstacle which opposed their mistress's liberty. But the Scottish commissioners, explaining the sentiments of their party, began in justification of their treatment of the queen, to advance such maxims concerning the limited power of princes, and the natural right of subjects to resist and to controul them, that Elizabeth, who entertained a very different opinion of the regal prerogative, was extremely shocked at their arguments. With regard to the authority which the king now possessed, they declared, that they neither had nor could possibly receive instructions to consent to any treaty that tended to subvert or even to impair it in the least degree. Nothing could be more ridiculous than such a declaration from the commissioners of the king of Scots to the queen of England, whose hand had seated him on the throne and maintained him upon it. But at this juncture, Elizabeth had no longer any thing to apprehend from the king of France, who had not discovered that eagerness in support of Mary, which was expected, and had suggested the idea of the present negociation. With

the utmost ease she could have brought these commissioners to hold a very different language, had she not preferred to consider their declaration as a sufficient motive to put a stop to the conferences until the regent should send ambassadors with more ample powers. Thus after being deluded for ten months with the hopes of liberty, the unhappy queen of Scots remained under stricter custody than ever.

On the day of the expiration of the truce, captain Crawford of Jordan-hill, one of the most gallant officers in the regent's service, took by surprise the castle of Dunbarton, the only fortified place in the kingdom, of which the queen had kept possession ever since the commencement of the civil wars. Its situation on the top of a high and almost inaccessible rock, rendered it impregnable in any other way than by surprise; and as it commanded the river Clyde, it was deemed the most proper place in the kingdom for landing any foreign troops that might come to Mary's aid. Soon after, Scotland was desolated by all the miseries of civil war. In every county and almost in every town and village *king's-men* and *queen's-men* were names of distinction.

The queen's party was still in possession of Edinburgh, from whence it made several incursions on all sides. Their attempt against Stirling might have terminated the contest between the two factions, and restored peace to Scotland, had not Kirkaldy, who was the author of this daring enterprize, been induced by the ill-timed solicitude of his friends about his safety, not to hazard his own person in conducting it. By four in the morning his troops arrived there, when not a single man was awake about the place. They met with no resistance from any person whom they attempted to seize, except Morton, whose obstinate valour obliged them to

set his house on fire. But during this operation, the private men, unaccustomed to discipline, began to disperse and plunder the houses and shops, when the earl of Mar sallied out of the castle with thirty soldiers; the townsmen took arms to assist their governor, and in an instant a sudden panic struck the assailants; many surrendered themselves to their own prisoners, the rest fled in all directions. The regent having been killed in the beginning of the action, the nobles, who happened to be in great numbers at Stirling, proceeded immediately to the election of his successor, and the earl of Mar, whose gallantry had saved the place, obtained the majority of votes.

A new parliament was assembled after five years' interval, and its transactions deserve the more attention, as they show the extent of the royal power at that period, as well as the character of Elizabeth and the genius of her government. It is no less curious to observe in this session, the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, the jealousy with which its progress were repressed by the sovereign; the imperious proceedings which were opposed to it, and the ease with which it was subdued. As soon as the speaker of the house of commons was elected, the lord-keeper Bacon told the parliament, in the queen's name, that she enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of state. A very few days after, Strickland, one of the members, having proposed a bill for the amendment of the liturgy, and though the house of commons, overawed by the prerogative, voted only that a petition should be presented to her majesty, for her licence to proceed further in this bill; Elizabeth was so highly offended with Strickland's presumption in moving it, that she summoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the house of commons. This violent

act of arbitrary power was the object of very warm debates in the house, as a manifest invasion of their privileges, and as a precedent of the most dangerous consequences. The true principles of liberty were discussed and enforced with great boldness by some members who pretended that all matters not treasonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced in parliament, where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the crown itself must finally be determined; that though it was proper that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet, was that prerogative limited by law, as the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them merely from his own authority.

These noble and popular principles, now so well established, were at that time somewhat new in England, and the contrary doctrine was more warranted by the existing practice. It was observed, that in the fifth of the queen's reign, a member had been called to account for a speech in the house; that in the reign of Henry V. a bishop was committed to prison by the king's command, on account of his freedom of speech; in the subsequent reign, the speaker himself was committed with another member, and in both cases, the parliament presumed not to go farther than to be humble suitors for the sovereign's pardon. The majority of the house being alarmed at these precedents, the speaker moved, that the commons should make stay of all farther proceedings, a motion which was immediately complied with. Elizabeth, finding that her order to Stricland might still excite a great ferment, prevented the question being resumed by sending him her permission for his attendance in parliament.

A motion made against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in Bristol, occasioned also very remarkable incidents. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent orders commanding the house to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. The discussion about the prerogative being again entered into, the member who had first introduced the motion was sent for by the council, and severely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the house with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror, and never spoke since but with extreme precaution; yet, did the queen think it incumbent on her at the conclusion of the session, to check severely those timid glimmerings of liberty which had appeared in the speeches of some members. The lord-keeper told the commons in her majesty's name, "that though the majority of the lower  
"house had shown themselves discreet and dutiful,  
"yet a few of them had discovered a contrary  
"character, and had justly merited the reproach  
"of audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous; con-  
"trary to their duty both as subjects and parlia-  
"ment-men; nay, contrary to the express injunc-  
"tion given them from the throne at the beginning  
"of the session; injunctions, which it might well  
"become them to have better attended to: they  
"had presumed to call in question her majesty's  
"grants and prerogatives. But her majesty warns  
"them, that, since they thus wilfully forget them-  
"selves, they are otherwise to be admonished;  
"some other species of correction must be found  
"for them, since neither the commands of her  
"majesty, nor the example of their wiser brethren,  
"can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and pre-  
"sumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to

“ meddle with what no wise belongs to them, and  
“ what lies beyond the compass of their under-  
“ standing.”

These transactions clearly show what was Elizabeth's opinion about the duty and authority of parliament. Yet she was and continued to be the most popular sovereign that ever swayed the sceptre of England; as the maxims of her reign, far from being considered as derogatory to the liberty or privilege of the nation, were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion generally entertained with regard to the constitution.

A law was enacted during this session which declared treason during the life-time of the queen, to affirm that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that any other possessed a preferable title, or that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the crown, and the successor thereof: to maintain in writing or printing, that any person, except the natural issue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or successor, subjected the person and all his abettors, for the first offence, to imprisonment during a year, and to the forfeiture of half their goods; the second offence subjected them to the penalty of a premunire. It was also enacted, that whosoever by bulls should publish absolutions or other rescripts of the pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, such offenders, as well as those who would be so reconciled, should be guilty of treason. The penalty of a premunire was imposed on every one who imported any *agnus dei*, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition consecrated by the pope. The former laws against usury were enforced by a new statute. A supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted to the queen.

At this time negotiations were entered into with

regard to a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, the French king's brother; terms of the contract were proposed, difficulties started and removed; both courts, equally insincere, seemed equally to desire it, but the only end of that scheme was to cover or to promote their particular designs. Catherine of Medicis, by carrying on a negotiation for the marriage of her son with a princess who was justly esteemed the protectress of the Huguenots, by yielding some things in point of religion, and by affecting an indifference with regard to others, hoped to delude all the protestants in Europe, and to lull asleep the jealousy of the Huguenots themselves. Elizabeth expected advantages of another kind. During the negotiation, the French could give no assistance to the Scottish queen; Mary herself and her party must be totally discouraged, and by interrupting her correspondence with France, one source at least of the cabals and intrigues which disturbed England, would be stopt. Both queens succeeded in their schemes.

Mary considering the French court as already united with her rival, turned for protection with more eagerness than ever towards the king of Spain. Philip, who, for some time had held a secret correspondence with her, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with small sums of money. Mary thought it necessary likewise to communicate the secret to the duke of Norfolk, whom Elizabeth had lately restored to liberty on his solemn promise to have no further intercourse with the queen of Scots: he had continued, however, to keep a constant correspondence with her, while Mary, still considering him as her future husband, strengthened his love and his ambitious hopes by the most tender letters, and took no step in any matter of moment without his advice. She recommended to his confidence Ridol-

phi, a Florentine gentleman, who resided at London under the character of a banker, and who was the private agent of the pope.

Ridolphi, in a conference with Norfolk, assured him that the pope had a great sum in readiness to bestow on so good a cause; that the duke of Alva had engaged to land ten thousand men not far from London; that the catholics to a man would rise in arms; that many of the nobles were ripe for a revolt, and turned their eyes towards him as their natural leader. The bishop of Ross, who was entrusted with all the secrets of Mary, and who deserved her confidence much more by his fidelity than by his prudence, advised the duke to assemble secretly a few of his followers, and at once to seize Elizabeth's person. But this was rejected by the duke as a scheme equally wild and hazardous. While he hesitated, the vigilant Cecil, now lord Burleigh, detected the whole conspiracy, and Norfolk, with his domestics, and all who were suspected of being privy to the conspiracy, were taken into custody. He was so basely and so completely betrayed by his own servants and associates, that when their depositions and the papers themselves were produced, astonished at their treachery, he acknowledged his guilt and implored the queen's mercy; but his offence was too heinous and too often repeated to be pardoned; and Elizabeth thought it necessary to deter her subjects by his punishment from holding correspondence with the queen of Scots or her emissaries.

*Ann, 1572.*

A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously declared Norfolk guilty, and the trial was prosecuted according to the strict rules observed at present in such matters, except that the witnesses did not give their



evidence in court, and were not confronted with the prisoner, a modern improvement in favour of innocence, but unobserved at that time in trials for high treason.

The queen seemed undecided concerning Norfolk's execution; twice she signed the warrant, and twice revoked the fatal sentence. After four months hesitation, a parliament being assembled, the commons addressed her in the strongest terms for the execution of the duke, and thus justified her severity against that nobleman. The earl of Northumberland being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion. The Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave England: the Scottish queen was denied from that time the privilege of having an ambassador at the English court, and Elizabeth, irritated by her late attempt against her government, openly declared that Mary's criminal correspondence with her avowed enemies, and the dangerous conspiracies she had excited against her crown and her life, had rendered her unworthy of protection, and that she would never consent to restore her to liberty, far less to replace her on her throne. She exhorted, therefore, all her partizans in Scotland to unite in acknowledging the king's authority, and threatened to employ her utmost power to compel them to submit.

The negotiation for the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou had been fruitless, because Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her husband; and the duke of Anjou, for the sake of interest, would not submit to the dishonour of apostacy. Charles, however, was no less desirous of concluding a defensive alliance between the two crowns; and Elizabeth was extreme-

ly solicitous to secure the assistance of so powerful a neighbour. The difficulties arising from the situation of the Scottish queen, were the chief cause of any delay ; but Elizabeth refusing to listen to any proposition in her favour, her obstinacy overcame the faint efforts of Charles, and Mary's name was not so much as mentioned in the treaty. The parliament which met in May proceeded against her as the most dangerous enemy of the kingdom, and after a solemn conference between the lords and commons, both houses agreed in bringing in a bill to declare her guilty of high treason, and to deprive her of all right of succession to the crown. Elizabeth, though she applauded their zeal, was satisfied with showing Mary what she might expect from the resentment of the nation, and as she did not yet think it time to proceed to further extremities against her, she prorogued the parliament.

The hatred long entertained in France against the protestants, particularly by Catherine of Medicis, burst out with the most horrible fury on St. Bartholomew's-day, August 24th. Persons of every condition, age, and sex suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished proscription, which devoted to the daggers of the most barbarous assassins many thousands of innocent victims. Orders were dispatched in all the provinces for a like general massacre of the protestants, and were executed except in a few, where the commanders, though very loyal subjects, had too much religion, probity, and humanity not to recoil at the idea of serving their king by assassinations, and courageously declared their disobedience to these infamous orders. The incredible horror which this abominable measure excited in England, was strikingly depicted by the French ambassador in his account of his first audience after the mas-

sacre. "A gloomy sorrow, says he, sat on every face; silence as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartments; the ladies and courtiers were ranged on each side, all clad in deep mourning, and as I passed through them, not one bestowed on me a civil look or made the least return to my salutes."

It was at least to be expected that the universal and everlasting detestation produced by such an unprecedented barbarity, should for ever prevent its return in any country; it has been, however, after an interval of two hundred and twenty years lately renewed and even execrably improved in France by the revolutionary fanaticism, and executed by those monsters well known under the name of *Septembriseurs*, under the direction of the most stupid and ferocious faction that ever existed.

The catastrophe of the 24th of August, proved very detrimental to Mary's affairs in Scotland. Many of her adherents were protestants, and though they wished her restoration, were not willing on that account to sacrifice the faith which they professed. They dreaded her attachment to a religion which allowed its votaries to perpetrate the most barbarous crimes. Encouraged by this disposition, Elizabeth resumed the scheme she had formed three years before of sending Mary to Scotland, but not on the generous terms she had then proposed. Far from discovering any solicitude for securing to her a treatment suited to her rank, nor even for the safety of her life, she offered to send her as a prisoner on the express condition, that immediately after her arrival in Scotland, she should be brought to public trial, and having no doubt that a sentence of the utmost severity should be passed against her, Elizabeth insisted, that, for the good of both kingdoms, it should be executed without delay. Eager to cut short the days of a rival, and to screen herself from

the blame which such a violent deed would have brought upon her, she wanted to transfer the odium of it to Mary's own subjects. But the earl of Mar, now regent, honourably rejected such an ignominious proposal, of which Elizabeth herself was probably too much ashamed to venture to renew it.

In the mean time, Elizabeth thought it prudent not to break all connexion with the king of France; she even allowed a new negociation to be set on foot for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother. She also consented to stand as godmother to a princess born to Charles, and who was christened Mary Elizabeth.

*Ann. 1573.*

A treaty of commerce between England and the Netherlands is concluded.

The charter of the city of London is renewed and confirmed.

Elizabeth's oeconomy deserves at this period, a most particular praise. Besides the expences of fortifying the English coast, and improving her navy, she found means without any additional burden on her subjects to discharge the debts due to them from Edward VI. her brother, from her sister Mary, and from herself, and not without due interest.

*Ann. 1574.*

A proclamation is issued for carrying into execution the sumptuary law against excess of apparel, to put a stop to the growing luxury of the times. It was enjoined by it, that every one within fourteen days should wear cloaths of such a fashion as the pattern to be fixed by the queen.

Charles IX. dies of a very extraordinary distemper suited to his sanguinary character ; his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. His death was a new misfortune to the Scottish queen, as Henry III. who succeeded him had not the same attachment to her person ; besides, his jealousy to the house of Guise, and his obsequiousness to the queen mother Catherine of Medicis, greatly alienated him from Mary's interest. A great dearth prevailed this year in England ; wheat was sold for six shillings a bushel.

*Ann. 1575 to 1579.*

During this interval of a peaceable and uniform government a few events occurred of such importance as to furnish materials for history. The most remarkable was a session of parliament held on the 8th of February, 1576. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who in the last session had signalized himself by the undaunted freedom and energy of his opinions in defence of the privileges of the house, opened this session with a premeditated harangue in the same strain, which gave great offence to the queen and ministers, and even drew on him the indignation of the house of commons to such a degree that they sequestered him from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy council ; and a report to be next day made to the house. Wentworth was summoned to appear before them in the star chamber and answer for his behaviour ; but he refused to give these counsellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he was satisfied that they acted not as members of the privy council but as a committee of the house. Far from being intimidated by their re-

proaches he would never retract a word of his speech, the freedom of which he justified by pleading the rigour and hardship of the queen's messages, and though the committee shewed him by instances in other reigns that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. After a month's confinement the queen sent information to the commons, that from her special grace and favour she had restored him to his liberty and to his place in the house. By this seeming lenity, she indirectly confirmed the power she had assumed of imprisoning the members and obliging them to answer before her for their conduct in parliament. In the mean time, sir Walter Mildmay was directed to inform them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased, and that indiscreet freedoms used in that house had, both in the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to abuse further the queen's clemency, lest she be constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity.

The submissiveness of the commons towards the crown did not prevent them in this session from maintaining their dignity against the house of lords, in declining a conference which they thought was improperly demanded of them. They acknowledged, however, with *all humbleness* (such is their expression) the superiority of lords; they only refused to give them any reason for their proceedings, and asserted, that where they altered a bill sent them by the upper house, it belonged to them to desire a conference, not to the peers to require it.

The commons granted an aid of one subsidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to satisfy them respecting the necessity of this grant, entered into

a detail of the queen's past expences in supporting the government, and of the increasing charges of the crown from the daily increase of the price of all commodities. He did not fail, however, to admonish them that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condescension, as she was not bound to give them any account how she employed her treasure.

About 1577, pocket watches were first brought into England from Germany.

In the year 1578, fifteen ships were employed in the Newfoundland fishery.

The Turkey company was first established in the year 1579.

In the same year a proclamation was issued prohibiting the enlarging of the city of London, by any building at less than three miles distance, and ordering that no more than one family should dwell in a house.

An accident brought forward about this time that magnanimity which too often slept in the bosom of Elizabeth. She was in a barge on the Thames, when a gun was fired from the shore, and the ball entered a rower's arm. The man who had fired was seized, convicted of treason, and brought to the gallows; but as he persisted to the last moment in his innocence, the queen ordered him to be set free, on this glorious and memorable motive, "that she would credit nothing against her subjects which might not be believed against her own children."

Elizabeth had long amused the court of France by carrying on the treaty of her marriage with the duke of Alençon. But whether at the age of forty-five she really intended to marry a prince of twenty; whether the pleasure of being flattered and courted, made her listen to the addresses of so young a lover; whether political coquetry and considera-

tions of interest predominated in this as in many other transactions of her reign, are, in history, as many problems hitherto unresolved.

*Ann. 1580.*

Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had acquired a large fortune by his depredations in the isthmus of Panama, having there got a sight of the pacific ocean, attempted a new adventure through those seas, unknown at that time to all the European nations. With the approbation of the queen, he sailed from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and sixty-four able sailors. He passed into the south sea by the straits of Magellan, attacked the south-west coast of Spanish America, took an immense booty, and prepared to return with it by attempting to find a passage by the north of California; but failing in that enterprize, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely this year by the Cape of Good Hope. Elizabeth admiring his intrepidity, rewarded it by conferring on him the honours of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had atchieved this celebrated voyage. On Philip's complaints against Drake's piracies, Elizabeth caused a part of the booty to be restored to the Spanish merchants whom Drake had spoiled; but when she heard that Philip had seized the money from them, and employed a part of it against herself, in paying the prince of Parma's troops, who had joined the rebels in Ireland, she determined to make no further restitutions.

The earl of Leicester, the queen's favourite, having privately married the earl of Essex's widow, Elizabeth was so provoked at it, that she threatened to send him to the Tower.



Philip, in order to retaliate the assistance which Elizabeth gave to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, had sent under the name of the pope a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, where the inhabitants, discontented with the English government, were now more alienated than ever on account of their attachment to the catholic religion, and were ready to join every invader. But the Spanish general, after a cowardly resistance, surrendered at discretion. Lord Gray, the English general, finding himself incumbered with so many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about one thousand five hundred of the Irish.

About this time, the use of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain.

*Ann. 1581, 1582.*

The queen was in such want of money that she was obliged to assemble a parliament, a measure, which, as she herself openly declared, she never employed except when constrained by the necessity of her affairs. The parliament, besides granting her one subsidy (one tenth) and two fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of her government, chiefly against the attempts of the catholics. Whoever in any way reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treason; to say mass, was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment and a fine of two hundred marks; the being present was punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of one hundred marks; a fine of twenty pounds a month was imposed on every one who continued during that time absent from church.

To utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen, was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony; the writing or printing of such words was felony even on the first offence.

In that same session, the commons having unwarily assented to a motion for appointing a general fast and prayers, they were severely reprimanded by a message from the queen for this presumption, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and supremacy, and they were obliged to submit and ask forgiveness.

The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, by his brother's accession to the throne, in order to forward the negociation of his marriage with Elizabeth, besides employing Henry's ambassador, sent over an agent of his own, an artful man, of agreeable manners, who soon remarking the queen's humour, found means to please and interest her by his accounts of the tender attachment borne her by his master. She was so much entertained by his conversation, in which he introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry, that, amidst the greatest hurry of business her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had the duke's agent. This prince, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossession in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich, and lost no ground by being personally known. He departed after some conferences with her; and she commanded her ministers to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. The articles were soon settled; it was agreed that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the contract; that the duke and his retinue should have the free exercise of their religion; that after the marriage

he should bear the title of king, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside eight months in England every two years; that the laws and customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

The queen also, as a proof of her still prevailing uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement.

Soon after the queen sent an ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offensive and defensive against Spain. Henry's answer was, that he had no objection to a league defensive, but that a league offensive had never been mentioned to him. Elizabeth insisting on both, Henry, with reluctance, submitted to hold conferences on that subject, but her ambassador had no sooner began to settle the terms of alliance, than the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war before the war without the marriage. The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negociation for the conclusion of the marriage. But scarcely were the conferences on this matter resumed, when the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered her am-

bassador to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution ; she seemed at a loss to determine what she would or would not do, and her wisest ministers in amazement were no less perplexed in their conjectures where this contest between love and reason, inclination and caprice would at last terminate.

During these hesitations, the duke of Anjou was obliged to go to Flanders for the opening of the campaign, and he expected some money from Elizabeth, which might enable him to pay the expences of the expedition ; and the queen herself, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was at last sensible of the necessity of this supply, and sent him a present of three hundred thousand crowns. He was successful in raising the siege of Cambray ; and being chosen by the states governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England, in order to prosecute his suit with the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect that Elizabeth had surmounted all scruples, and was finally to conclude her marriage. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen after a long and intimate conversation with him, to take a ring from her own finger and put it on his ; from which, all the spectators concluded that by this she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all her court. The Flemings, who regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity to them, being informed of this great event, testified their joy at Antwerp by bon-fires and by the discharge of their great ordnance. A Puritan, who had written a pamphlet against the queen's marriage, was apprehended and prosecuted by her order, and was condemned to lose his right hand

as a libeller. But notwithstanding this public show of attachment and steadiness, Elizabeth's irresolution was far from being entirely over, and was daily increased by the remonstrances of all the persons whom she favoured with her confidence, and who represented to her that the security of her government depended chiefly on the affections of her protestant subjects, whom she could not more effectually disgust than by marrying a prince who was son to the perfidious Catherine, brother to the sanguinary Charles IX. and who had himself imbrued his hands in the blood of the defenceless protestants; that the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that she had usurped the crown, or was now lawfully deposed by the pope's bull of excommunication; that nothing had ever so much elevated their hopes, as the prospect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou, whom they already considered as a head to conduct their dangerous enterprises.

These reflexions kept the queen in great anxiety, and made her pass many sleepless nights. At last she sent for the duke of Anjou, and had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; he dashed on the floor the ring she had given him, and loudly cursing the caprice of Elizabeth, and the mutability of women and of islanders, he took his way soon afterwards to the Netherlands, lost the confidence of the states by a violent attempt on their liberties, was expelled that country, retired into France, where he died in 1584, at thirty years of age,

*Ann. 1583.*

While negotiations, conferences, and delibera-

tions respecting Elizabeth's marriage, engrossed both her mind and the attention of the English nation, a remarkable revolution had taken place in Scotland.

That pusillanimous and absurdly warm attachment which bound James of Scotland during his whole life to a succession of favourites, had already begun when his tender age and his situation rendered it more natural and excusable. Two young men of the names of Stuart, at once gained his affections, and guided his steps. One, who was his near relation, being nephew to the late regent Lennox, was of a virtuous, mild, and amiable character. He was made in a short space of time duke of Lennox, first lord of the bed chamber, and governor of Dunbarton-castle; many other places were bestowed upon him, nor did these repeated favours excite any complaint. Captain Stuart, who shared with him the young prince's fondness, was of a character totally different; he was rash, ambitious, avaricious, despised all principles of religion, morality, or honour, and united all the vices which could render a favourite odious to a nation.

Notwithstanding the dissimilarity of their character and inclinations, both these favourites joined in the design of ruining the regent Morton. The violent captain Stuart, at once accused him of king Henry's murder. He was arrested in council, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed that he had been privy to the plot formed against the life of the king, but he denied that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime. Elizabeth endeavoured to support him as one of her most zealous partizans and faithful dependents; she sent an ambassador to intercede in his favour; she even ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of

England, but this measure served only to hasten the execution of his sentence. Soon after this event, the two Stuarts, who were united by their mutual dread of Morton, began to disagree, and gradually came to an open rupture. Many other circumstances at this crisis, conspiring to raise discontent among the most powerful barons around the throne, they entered into a plot, the aim of which was to hold James in captivity, and to overthrow the authority of the two favourites; the whole was easily accomplished at Ruthven-castle, where the unsuspecting prince fell unawares into the snare prepared for him.

The trade to Turkey commenced about this year, but was immediately confined to a company by the queen.

The unfortunate Mary, whose health was very much impaired by the length and hardships of her confinement, was driven to despair when she heard of her son's captivity. In this distress, she addressed a most spirited and pathetic letter to Elizabeth, in which she asserted her own innocence, and set forth all her grievances by arguments and facts equally unanswerable and undeniable. "Could she ever be induced, said she, to descend from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which she would appeal from all her enemies; to the justice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would naturally be induced to exercise towards her, and that she finally entreated her to resume her natural disposition, and to reflect on the support as well as comfort, which she might receive from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she raised them from their present melancholy situa-

“tion, and restored them to that liberty and authority to which they were entitled.” But this letter neither procured any mitigation of the rigour of her own confinement, nor any interposition in favour of her son.

Meanwhile James, though he dissembled with great art, became every day more uneasy under his confinement, from which at last he was rescued by a contrivance of colonel Stuart, who commanded the castle of St. Andrews, where James had been permitted to go under pretence of paying a visit to the earl of March, his grand uncle. No sooner had the prince entered the castle with some of his attendants, than colonel Stuart commanded the gates to be shut, and excluded all the rest of his train. James summoned his friends and partizans to attend him, and they came in such numbers that the opposite party found themselves unable to resist such a powerful combination. Elizabeth sent Walsingham as her ambassador to him. In employing a man of so much penetration and experience in an errand where so little business was to be transacted, the chief object of the queen was to learn from him the real character of James. This young prince's education had been carefully attended to. A very retentive memory happily united to an agreeable fluency in conversation, enabled him to show to advantage the extensive information he had received from his instructors. These accomplishments, which never fail to prepossess in favour of a young prince who is endowed with them, impressed Walsingham with a high opinion of his talents, which he would have merited had they been accompanied with that discernment and energy which his situation required; but his deficiency on that respect could be perceived only in transacting real business, and Walsingham had none of the kind to treat with him at that



time; therefore, the account which he gave his mistress of the young king's character and capacity, induced her to treat James thenceforth with some more regard than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

*Ann.* 1584.

New conspiracies against the queen are discovered by the vigilance of Burleigh and Walsingham. Henry Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, beheaded some years before, falls under suspicion; Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, is by order of council confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, is committed to custody on account of a letter he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treasonable designs, fly to the continent. Throgmorton confesses that a plan for an invasion and insurrection had been laid. He is found guilty and executed. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who had promoted the conspiracy, is ordered to depart the kingdom. Elizabeth sends an ambassador to Spain to excuse his dismissal, and desire the king to send another ambassador in his place; but Philip haughtily refuses to admit to his presence the bearer of such a message.

In the mean time Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers and threw them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were pieced together and discovered dangerous secrets. As Mary's name was employed in all these conspiracies, many of them were imputed to her intrigues, and the council always alarmed and alarming Elizabeth on the restless activity of the Scot-

tish queen, and the dangers of her claims, suggested as a necessary precaution, her being removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful, was too indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise : and she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury ; men of honour, but inflexible in their attention and strictness. An association was also set on foot, the subscribers of which bound themselves by the most solemn oaths, to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof any violence should be offered to her majesty. As Elizabeth was generally beloved, except by the most zealous catholics, men of all ranks flocked to the subscription. The queen of Scots, against whom this artful measure was evidently levelled, endeavoured to remove all suspicion from herself by offers of more entire resignation to the will of Elizabeth in every point which had been the occasion of their long enmity than all her sufferings hitherto had been able to extort. She also desired to subscribe to the association.

A parliament is summoned, and confirm the association with an additional clause, empowering the queen to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her : upon condemnation pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable as her majesty should direct : and for greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern

the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason.

A new law was enacted against Jesuits and catholic priests, ordaining, that they should depart the kingdom within forty days, that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason ; that those who harboured or relieved them, should be guilty of felony ; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop, or two justices, should be guilty of treason ; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void. By the same law, the exercise of the catholic religion, which, though formerly prohibited under lighter penalties, was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed.

As the commons in their petition to the prelates had again ventured to touch, though very submissively, on the ecclesiastical grievances, the queen, in her speech from the throne at the end of the session, did not fail taking notice of their presumption ; and after thanking them for their attachment to her, and making professions of affection to her subjects, she told them, that “ whoever found fault  
“ with the church, threw a slander upon her, since  
“ she was appointed *by God* supreme ruler over  
“ it, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in  
“ the kingdom but by her permission and negligence ; that as she could discern the presumption  
“ of many in curiously canvassing the scriptures,  
“ and starting innovations, she would no longer  
“ endure this licentiousness ; but meant to guide  
“ her people by God’s rule in the just mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors

“ of modern sectaries, who, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince.” Elizabeth, soon after established an ecclesiastical or high commission, which she invested with a discretionary authority more arbitrary and unlimited than any of these former courts ever had. It consisted of forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics, its jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom and over all orders of men. These commissioners were empowered to reform all errors, heresies, schisms; to regulate all opinions, and punish all delinquents in religious matters. They were directed to make enquiry not only by the legal forms of juries and witnesses, but by all other means, and even by the rack, by torture, inquisition, and by imprisonment.

*Ann. 1585.*

Elizabeth's alarms were daily increased by the indiscreet zeal of the English exiles. Not satisfied with incessant outcries against her severity towards the Scottish queen, and her cruel persecution of her catholic subjects, they now began to disperse books and writings, in which they endeavoured to persuade their adherents that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life. They openly exhorted the maids of honour to treat her as Judith did Holophernes, and by such an illustrious deed, to render their own names honourable and sacred in the church throughout all future ages.

These inflammatory publications did not a little contribute in exciting against the queen a new conspiracy more real and more dangerous than those against which the most rigorous measures had been employed. William Parry, a doctor of laws, and a member of the house of commons, had lately

been reconciled to the church of Rome, and fraught with the zeal of a new convert, he offered to demonstrate the sincerity of his attachment to the religion by killing Elizabeth. Cardinal Allen, had published a book to prove that the murder of an excommunicated prince was not only lawful, but a meritorious action. The pope's nuncio at Venice, the Jesuits both there and at Paris, the English exiles, all approved of the design. It was even stated in his trial, that the pope himself exhorted him to persevere, and granted him for his encouragement a plenary indulgence and remission of his sins. Cardinal *di Como*, wrote to him a letter to the same purpose. But though he often got access to the queen, fear, or some remaining sense of duty, restrained him from perpetrating the crime. His intention was at last discovered by Nevil, the only person in England to whom he had communicated it; and he himself having confessed his guilt, suffered the punishment which it deserved. (*State Trials*, vol. 1. p. 103.)

Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics and persecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but as he was somewhat disordered in his understanding, he betrayed his design by some extravagances, and was thrown into prison, where he perished by a voluntary death.

*Ann. 1586.*

Elizabeth finding that an open breach with the king of Spain was unavoidable, resolves to attack America, the chief source of Philip's power as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions. A fleet of twenty sail is equipped; two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engage on

board of it : sir Francis Drake is appointed admiral, Christopher Carlisle, commander of the land forces. They take St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise, and find in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sail to Hispaniola, and easily making themselves masters of St. Domingo by assault, oblige the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthage, after some more resistance, shares the same fate. They burn St. Anthony and St. Helena, two towns on the coast of Florida.

Drake returned with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries as served extremely to inflame the spirit of the nation to future enterprizes. It is thought that Drake's fleet first introduced the use of tobacco in England.

The enterprizes of Leicester in Holland, where he had been sent at the head of the English auxiliary forces, were far from being so successful. The states, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the united provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in some respects as their sovereign. But the queen was displeased with the artifice of the states and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both, and it was with some difficulty that after many humble submissions, they were able to appease her. Leicester had neither courage nor capacity equal to the expedition in which he was employed. He gained at first some advantages against the Spaniards, but those repeatedly obtained against him by the duke of Parma, the Spanish general, soon obliged him to depart for England.

It is found in Munden's State Papers, p. 558, that about this time the Scottish queen, after having lived a long while in great intimacy with the countess of Shrewsbury, her keeper, had a jealous

quarrel with her, and out of revenge, wrote to Elizabeth a letter, informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories, which, she said, the countess had reported to her. These pretended reports on Elizabeth's conceitedness, coquetry, lewdness, violence, and brutality, are so vulgar, so disgusting, and so obviously calumnious, that it is hardly credible that a princess, whose understanding, discernment, and refined education were never questioned, and who was then in such a situation as to want and wish above all to sooth queen Elizabeth, could write to her such an offensive and unpardonable letter.

Elizabeth's usual jealousies with regard to her heirs, was now levelled against the young king of Scotland. As he had attained the proper age for marriage, she was anxious that, by being strengthened with children and alliances, he should acquire the greater interest and authority. She had accordingly dispatched to Scotland, as her ambassador, Wotton, a man of profound dissimulation, who knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs, and most dangerous artifices. She had directed him to form a secret concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to procure their promise, that James, during three years, should not on any account be permitted to marry. In order to answer more effectually Elizabeth's purpose, Wotton, who had completely succeeded in securing James's confidence and affection, had contrived a plan to seize the king and carry him by force into England; but the design being happily discovered, Wotton found no other means to escape the punishment due to his treachery, than to depart immediately without taking leave.

This audacious attempt formally disavowed by Elizabeth, did not prevent James offering to her to renew the negociation respecting a league between England and Scotland, for the protection of the

protestant religion against the late combination of the catholic powers for its destruction. Elizabeth did not suffer such a favourable opportunity to slip, and instantly dispatched an ambassador to Scotland to conclude a treaty, which she so much desired. The treaty was soon settled, and its chief article was, that the league should be offensive and defensive between both parties against all who should endeavour to disturb the exercise of the evangelic religion in either kingdom.

Not long after this, the inconsiderate affection of the English catholics towards Mary, and their implacable resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspiracy, which proved fatal to the one queen, stamped with an indelible stain the character of the other, and presented to Europe a spectacle of which there had been hitherto no example in the history of mankind.

Three catholic priests, educated in the seminary of Rheims, persuaded an officer in the Spanish army, noted for his furious zeal and daring courage, that no service could be so acceptable to Heaven as to take away the life of an excommunicated heretic. This officer, whose name was *Savage*, eager to obtain the crown of martyrdom, bound himself by a solemn vow to kill Elizabeth. Ballard, another priest of the same seminary, had at that time come over to Paris, and solicited the Spanish ambassador to procure an invasion of England. But the English exiles demonstrated the fruitlessness of such an attempt, unless Elizabeth were first cut off, or the invaders secured of a powerful support on their landing. In either of these cases, effectual aid was promised. Ballard was accordingly sent back to England to renew his intrigues. He communicated his designs to Babington, a gentleman in Derbyshire, of a large fortune and many amiable qualities, who concurred with the English exiles in con-



sidering Elizabeth's death as a necessary preliminary to any invasion. Ballard imparted to him Savage's vow, who was now in town waiting for an opportunity to strike the blow.

Babington thought it not prudent to rely on a single hand for such an attempt, and offered to find out five gentlemen whose honour, secrecy, and courage might be depended on, and who should be joined by Savage in the enterprize. Instead of five, he opened the matter to eleven gentlemen of good families, united together in the bonds of private friendship, strengthened by the more powerful tie of religious zeal, the bustle of which had introduced him into their society. After many consultations, their plan of operations was settled, and their different parts assigned. Babington himself was appointed to rescue the queen of Scots. Salisbury, with some others, undertook to excite several counties to take arms: the murder of the queen fell to Tichbourne and Savage, with four associates. This horrible attempt appeared to them so honourable, that in order to perpetuate the memory of it, they had a picture drawn containing the portraits of the six assassins, and a motto, intimating that they were jointly embarked in some hazardous design.

While they believed that their machinations were carried on with the most impenetrable secrecy, Walsingham was regularly informed of all their steps by Polly, one of his spies and of their associates, who had entered into the conspiracy with the only view of betraying them. Gilbert Gifford, who had been sent over to England to quicken the progress of the conspiracy, had also been gained by Walsingham, and gave him intelligence of all their projects. The minister immediately imparted these discoveries to Elizabeth, who, without communicating the matter to any other of the counsellors, thought fit to wait until the plot was ripened and

brought near the point of execution. When the moment came, Ballard, the prime mover in the whole conspiracy, was arrested, and within a few days, his associates, who endeavoured to save themselves by flight, were all committed to the tower, except Windsor, and influenced by fear or by hope, confessed at once all that they knew. The indignation of the people, and their impatience of revenge, hastened the trial of the assassins, and all of them suffered the death of traitors, September 20th. Thus far Elizabeth's conduct may be pronounced regular, prudent, and necessitated by the circumstances.

The frantic zeal of a few rash young men sufficiently accounted for all the wild and wicked designs which they had formed; but the ministers chose to place the conspiracy in another light, and *after the execution of all the conspirators*, they wished to persuade the nation that they should be considered merely as instruments employed by the queen of Scots. In support of this charge, they produced letters which they ascribed to her, as having come into their hands by the following mysterious mode of conveyance. Gifford had been trusted by some of the exiles with letters to Mary, but in order to make a trial of his fidelity and address, they were only blank papers. These being safely delivered, he was afterwards employed without any further apprehension. A brewer, in the neighbourhood of Chartley, where Mary had been conveyed, was bribed, and he engaged to deposit the letters in a hole in the wall of the castle, covered with a loose stone. Thence they were taken by the queen, and in the same manner her answers returned. All these were carried to Walsingham, opened by him, decyphered, sealed again so dexterously that the fraud could not be perceived, and then they were transmitted according to their

directions. Two letters to Babington, with several to the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, to Paget, Englefield, and the English fugitives, were procured by this artifice; but, copies of them only were and could be produced, as the originals were forwarded as aforesaid. It was given out that in these letters, Mary approved of the conspiracy, and even of the assassination; that she directed them to proceed with the utmost circumspection, and not to take arms until foreign auxiliaries were ready to join them; that she recommended the earl of Arundel, his brothers, and the young earl of Northumberland, as proper persons to conduct the enterprize; that she advised them, if possible, to excite at the same time some commotion in Ireland; and above all, besought them to concert with care the means of her own escape, suggesting to them several expedients for that purpose.

All these circumstances were opened at the trial of the conspirators, and while the nation was under the influence of those terrors which the association and the subsequent act of parliament had raised, and the late danger had augmented, they were believed without hesitation or inquiry, and spread with general alarm the most violent and sanguinary hatred against Mary.

Meanwhile the Scottish queen was guarded with unusual vigilance, and knew nothing of the discovery of the conspiracy. Sir Thomas Gorges was at last sent to acquaint her both of it and of the imputation with which she was loaded as accessory to that crime. Her private closet was broken open, her papers were seized, sealed, and sent up to court. Her principal domestics were arrested and committed to different keepers. Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, the one a native of France, the other of Scotland, were carried prisoners to London. All the money in her custody, amount-

ing to little more than two thousand pounds, was secured ; and after leading her about for some days, from one gentleman's house to another, she was conveyed to Fotheringay, a strong castle in Northamptonshire.

The council had now to decide what should be Mary's fate. Some of the counsellors thought it sufficient to dismiss all her attendants, and to keep her under such close restraint as would cut off all possibility of corresponding with the enemies of the state. But as neither the reverence of the Roman catholics for her name, nor their compassion for her sufferings could be extinguished by this measure, a public and legal trial was considered as the most unexceptionable expedient ; and as it was impossible to find in the ancient records, any statute or precedent to justify the trial of a foreign sovereign who had not entered the kingdom in arms, but had fled thither for refuge, the proceedings against Mary were founded on the act of last parliament. Elizabeth accordingly appointed, by a commission under the great seal, forty persons, the most illustrious in the kingdom by their birth and offices, together with five of the judges, to decide this great cause.

The commissioners appointed by Elizabeth arrived at Fotheringay, October 11th. Next morning they delivered a letter from the queen to Mary, in which, after the bitterest reproaches and accusations, she informed her, that a due regard for the happiness of the nation had, at last, rendered it necessary to make a public inquiry into her conduct, and therefore required her, as she had lived so long under the protection of the laws of England, to submit now to the trial which they ordained to be taken of her crimes. Mary, though surprised at this message, was neither appalled by the danger nor unmindful of her own dignity.

She protested solemnly that she was innocent of the crime imputed to her, and had never countenanced any attempt against the life of the queen, but at the same time refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came to England, (said she,) an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority. Nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The queen of England's subjects, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me any protection. Let them not now be perverted, in order to take away my life."

Though threatened by the commissioners to have a sentence passed against her on account of her contumacy in refusing to plead; she persisted for two days to decline their jurisdiction: but she yielded at last to the arguments urged by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, who represented to her, that by avoiding a trial she injured her own reputation, and deprived herself of the only opportunity of setting her innocence in a clear light; and that nothing would be more agreeable to them, or more acceptable to the queen, than to be convinced by undoubted evidence that she had been unjustly loaded with foul aspersions. Thus the unfortunate princess, unassisted by any friend or counsellor, and allured by the hope of vindicating her own honour, was enticed into a deviation from the only line of conduct suitable to her dignity.

At her appearance before the judges who received her with much ceremony, she took care to protest, that by condescending to hear, and to give an answer to the accusations which should be brought against her, she neither acknowledged the jurisdiction of the court, nor admitted of the validity and justice of those acts by which they pretended to try her. The chancellor, by a counter-protestation, endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court. Then Elizabeth's attorney and solicitor-general opened the charges against Mary. Copies of her letters were produced. Babington's confession, those of Ballard, Savage, and the other conspirators, together with the declarations of her two secretaries, were read, and the whole ranged in the most specious order which the art and eloquence of these lawyers could devise. Mary listened to their harangues attentively and without emotion. But at the mention of the earl of Arundel, who was then confined in the tower, she broke out into this affectionate and generous exclamation : " Alas ! how much has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake ! "

When the queen's counsel had finished, Mary stood up, and with great magnanimity, and equal presence of mind, began her defence. She bewailed the unhappiness of her situation ; that after a captivity of nineteen years, during which she had suffered treatment no less cruel than unmerited, she was at last loaded with an accusation, which tended not only to rob her of her right of succession, and to deprive her of life itself, but to transmit her name with infamy to future ages ; that without regarding the sacred rights of sovereignty, she was now subjected to laws framed against private persons ; commanded, though an anointed queen, to appear before the tribunal of subjects ; and like common criminals, reduced to see her honour exposed to

the petulant tongues of lawyers, capable of distorting her words, and of misrepresenting her actions ; that even in this dishonourable situation, she was denied the privileges granted by law to the vilest criminals, and obliged to undertake her own defence, without the presence of any friend with whom to advise, without the aid of counsel, and without the use of her own papers.

She then proceeded to the particular articles in the accusation. She absolutely denied any correspondence with Babington or Ballard ; maintained that the pretended copies of her pretended letters should not be produced against her, as nothing less than her hand-writing or subscription was sufficient to convict her of such an odious crime. Besides, no proof could be brought that these letters were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction. The confessions of wretches condemned and executed were of no weight ; fear or hope might extort from them many impostures ; nor ought the honour of a queen to be stained by such vile testimony. The declaration of her secretaries was not more conclusive ; promises and threats might easily overcome the resolution of two strangers ; in order to screen themselves, they might throw the blame on her ; whatever their declaration might be, it could not be admitted against her unless they were examined in her presence and confronted to her conformably to an act of parliament of the thirteenth year of the present reign, the purport of which was that the species of treason therein enumerated must be proved by two witnesses confronted with the criminal. The letters to the Spanish ambassador were either nothing more than copies, or contained only what was perfectly innocent. "I have often," continued she, "made such efforts for the recovery of my liberty, as are natural to a human creature. Convinced by the

sad experience of so many years that it was vain to expect it from the justice or generosity of the queen of England, I have frequently solicited foreign princes, and called upon my friends to employ their whole interest for my relief. I have likewise endeavoured to procure for the English catholics some mitigation of the rigour with which they are now treated; and if I could hope by my death to deliver them from oppression, I am willing to die for their sake. I wish, however, to imitate the example of Esther, not of Judith, and would rather make intercession for my people, than shed the blood of the meanest creature, in order to save them. I have often checked the intemperate zeal of my adherents, when either the severity of the persecutions exercised against them, or indignation at the un-heard-of injuries I have endured, were apt to precipitate them into violent councils. I have even warned the queen of dangers to which these harsh proceedings exposed her; and worn out as I now am with cares and sufferings, the prospect of a crown is not so inviting, that I should ruin my soul in order to obtain it. I am no stranger to the feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the duties of religion, and abhor the detestable crime of assassination as equally repugnant to both; *and if ever I have given consent by my words, or even by my thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God.*"

Mary appeared at two other different days before the commissioners, and in every part of her behaviour displayed the magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the gentleness and modesty of a woman.

The commissioners, by Elizabeth's express command, adjourned without pronouncing any sentence,



to the star-chamber in Westminster, where Mary's two secretaries, whom she vainly demanded to be examined in her presence, were brought into court, and confirmed their former declaration upon oath; and after reviewing all their proceedings, the commissioners, on the 25th of October, unanimously declared Mary "to be accessary to Babington's conspiracy, and to have imagined diverse matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute made for the security of the queen's life."

The parliament met a few days after this sentence was pronounced. All the papers which had been produced at Fotheringay, were laid before them; and after many violent invectives against the queen of Scots, both houses unanimously ratified the proceedings of the commissioners and their sentence. They even presented a joint address to the queen, beseeching her, as she regarded her own safety, the preservation of the protestant religion, the welfare and wishes of her people, to publish the sentence, and without farther delay, to inflict on a rival no less irreclaimable than dangerous the punishment which she had merited by so many crimes. Her answer, under the appearance of openness and candour, was ambiguous and evasive, full of such professions of regard for her people, of such complaints against Mary's ingratitude as served to exasperate their hatred and indignation against her. In the end, she besought them to save her the infamy and the pain of delivering up a queen, her nearest kingswoman, to punishment; and to consider whether it might not still be possible to provide for the public security, without forcing her to imbrue her hands in royal blood. The true meaning of this answer was well understood. The lords and commons declared, that they could find no other means

than those they had proposed in their former request which they renewed with additional importunity. This second request was answered with more prolixity, but so much in the same meaning as the first, that Elizabeth acknowledged herself in that letter, that her answer answered nothing. She renewed her professions of affection to her people and prorogued the parliament, reserving in her own hands the sole disposal of her rival's fate.

The accounts of this unexampled trial being spread over all parts of Europe, the king of France sent over immediately Bellievre, as ambassador extraordinary, to intercede for Mary with great appearance of warmth, but Elizabeth remained inexorable. She paid no greater regard to the solicitations of the king of Scots; though her commissioners had been extremely careful to sooth James, by publishing a declaration that their sentence against Mary did in no degree derogate from his honour or invalidate any title which he formerly possessed. He beheld, however, with filial concern and with the sentiments which became a king, the indignities to which his mother had been exposed, and could hardly believe that Elizabeth would venture upon an action so unprecedented, which tended so visibly to render the persons of princes less sacred in the eyes of the people, and which degraded the royal dignity, of which at other times she was so remarkably jealous. But when he heard of her intention, he dispatched another ambassador to remonstrate in the strongest terms against the injury done to his mother, which could not but reflect upon himself. Elizabeth returning no answer to these remonstrances, James wrote to her with his own hand, complaining bitterly of her conduct, and threatening to act as became a son when called to revenge his mother's wrongs. At the same time, he took all necessary steps towards executing

his threats with vigour. Elizabeth, alarmed at his preparations, returned a soft and evasive answer, promising to listen to any overture from the king that tended to his mother's safety, and to suspend the execution of the sentence until the arrival of new ambassadors from Scotland.

Meanwhile Elizabeth yielding, as she said, to the repeated entreaty of both houses of parliament, commanded the sentence against Mary to be published, and dispatched lord Buckhurst and Beale to acquaint her with the contents of it, and how unfortunately the nation demanded its execution; advising her to prepare for an event which might become necessary for securing the protestant religion, as well as quieting the minds of the people. Mary received the message not only without symptoms of fear, but with expressions of triumph. "No wonder, (said she,) the English should now thirst for the blood of a foreign prince, they have often offered violence to their own monarchs. But after so many sufferings, death comes to me as a welcome deliverer. I am proud to think that my life is deemed of importance to the catholic religion, and as a martyr for it I am now willing to die."

After the publication of the sentence, Mary was stripped of every remaining mark of royalty. The canopy of state in her apartment was pulled down. Paulet, her keeper, entered her chamber and approached her person, without any ceremony, and even appeared covered in her presence. These indignities did not produce in her any other emotion than pity and contempt.

The queen of Scots wrote to Elizabeth a last letter, full of dignity, but combined, however, with that spirit of meekness and piety suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. Far from wishing for any respite to the fatal sentence from

which she appealed to God and to posterity; she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage, and at the same time, entreated Elizabeth that she would permit her servants to carry her dead body into France, to be laid in hallowed ground with the sacred remains of her mother; that some of her domestics might be present at her death, to bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith and of her submission to the will of Heaven; that all her servants might be suffered to leave the kingdom, and to enjoy those small legacies which she should bestow on them as testimonies of her affection; and that, in the mean time, her almoner, or some other catholic priest, might be allowed to assist her in preparing for an eternal world. She besought her, in the name of Jesus, by the soul and memory of Henry VII. their common progenitor, by their near consanguinity, and the royal dignity with which they were both invested, to gratify her in these particulars, and to indulge her so far as to signify her compliance by a letter under her own hand. Whether Mary's letter was ever delivered to Elizabeth has not been ascertained. No answer was returned and no regard paid to her demands. She was offered a protestant bishop, or a dean to attend her; these she rejected, and without any clergyman, she prepared in great tranquillity for the awful catastrophe, which she now believed to be at no great distance.

*Ann. 1587.*

James, without losing a moment, sent new ambassadors to London. But Gray, one of them, deceived his master, who trusted him with a negotiation of so much importance, and betrayed the

queen, whom he was employed to save. He encouraged and urged Elizabeth to execute the sentence, engaging whatever should happen, to pacify the king's rage, or at least to prevent any effect of his resentment.

In the mean time, Elizabeth was a prey to the most violent agitation and disquietude of mind. She shunned society; she was often found in a melancholy and musing posture. The people waited anxiously her determination; and lest their fear or their zeal should subside, rumours of danger were propagated with the utmost industry. The French ambassador, it was said, had suborned an assassin to murder the queen. Others affirmed, that the Spanish fleet was already arrived at Milford Haven, and that the duke of Guise had landed with a strong army in Sussex. Now it was reported that the northern counties were up in arms; that the Scots had entered England with all their forces. Next day it was whispered that a conspiracy was on foot for seizing the queen and burning the city. The panic was growing more violent every day; the people, enraged, called loudly for the death of Mary as the only means of restoring tranquillity to the kingdom. Elizabeth, urged by her ministers to yield to the prevailing sentiments of her subjects, commanded Davison, one of the secretaries of state, to bring to her the fatal warrant. She signed it, and then commanded him to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have it sealed with the great seal. Next day she sent Killegrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear some time executing her former orders, and when Davison came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, very much perplexed, acquainted the council with this whole transaction, and they endeavoured to per-

suade him to send off Beale with the warrant, promising that if the queen should be displeased, they would justify his conduct, and take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. Davison complied with the advice, and the warrant was immediately sent to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with all the necessary orders for the execution of the sentence.

On the 7th of February, the two earls came to Fotheringay, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. The warrant was read in her presence; she heard it without emotion, and crossing herself; "that soul," said she, "is not worth the joys of Heaven, which repines because the body must endure the stroke of the executioner; and though I did not expect that the queen of England would set the first example of violating the sacred person of a sovereign prince, I willingly submit to that which Providence has decreed to be my lot;" and laying her hand on a bible that happened to be near her, she solemnly protested that she was innocent of that conspiracy which Babington had carried on against Elizabeth's life. She then mentioned the requests alluded to in her letter to Elizabeth, but obtained no satisfactory answer. She asked again for her almoner to attend her in her last moments; but even this favour, granted to the vilest criminals, was absolutely denied. No sooner did the two earls withdraw, than Mary's attendants, no longer overawed by their presence, ran to their mistress, and burst out into the most passionate expressions of tenderness and sorrow. Mary retaining a perfect composure of mind, endeavoured to moderate their grief, and falling on her knees with all her domestics round her, she thanked Heaven that her sufferings were now so near an end, and prayed that she

might be enabled to endure what still remained with decency and fortitude. The greater part of the evening she employed in settling her worldly affairs. She wrote her testament. Her money, jewels, and clothes she distributed among her servants. She wrote to the king of France and to the duke of Guise, letters full of magnanimous sentiments, recommending her soul to their prayers, and her servants to their protection. At supper, she conversed not only with ease, but with cheerfulness. She drank to every one of her servants, and asked their forgiveness if ever she had failed in any part of her duty towards them. She slept calmly a few hours; early in the morning, she retired into her closet, and employed considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock the high-sheriff entered her chamber, and found her still kneeling at the altar. She immediately started up, and with a majestic mien, and a countenance undismayed, advanced towards the place of execution. She was dressed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance which she had long laid aside, except on a few festival days. She carried a crucifix in her hand. Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been secluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell. At the sight of his beloved mistress, he melted into tears. "Weep not, good Melvil," said she, "there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stewart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him that I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive those who have thirsted, without cause, for my blood!"

After these words, reclining herself with weeping eyes, and her face bedewed with tears, she kissed him: "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewell once again; farewell, good Melvil; grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

The scaffold was erected in the same hall where she had been tried, covered, as well as the block, a chair, and the cushion, with black cloth. Mary mounted the steps with alacrity, beheld all this apparatus of death with an unaltered countenance, and signing herself with the cross she sat down on the chair. The warrant of execution was read by Beale with a loud voice. Then the dean of Peterborough began a pious discourse suitable to her present condition, and offered up prayers to Heaven in her behalf; but she declared that she could not in conscience hearken to the one nor join in the other; and kneeling down, she repeated her own prayers, and with an audible voice, recommended unto God the afflicted state of the church, prayed for prosperity to her son, and for a long life and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. Then lifting up, and kissing the crucifix, she thus addressed it. "As thy arms, O Jesus, were extended on the cross; so with the outstretched arms of thy mercy receive me and forgive my sins."

She then prepared for the block by taking off her veil and upper garments; and one of the executioners rudely offering to assist, she gently checked him, and said with a smile, "that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets." With undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block, and at the second stroke, the executioner cut off her head, which, falling out of its attire, discovered her hair already grown quite grey with



cares and sorrow, and the dean crying out, "so perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies," the earl of Kent alone answered *Amen*. The rest of the spectators continued silent and drowned in tears.

Such was the end equally heroic and tragical of Mary, queen of Scots, in the 45th year of her age and 19th of her captivity. The beauties and graces of her person, the accomplishments of her mind, her gentle affability, and the charms of her conversation, combined to make her the most amiable princess, as her great misfortunes have rendered her name one of the most celebrated of her age. To attach any blame to the imprudence or indiscretion of some measures which she was occasionally induced to adopt by the natural and innocent desire of recovering her liberty, would be not only an undeserved severity but an injustice. The dignity of her character and the honour of her reputation, would shine unblemished to the scrutinizing eyes of posterity, could we tear out of her history the pages relating to that fatal period of her life, when the intoxication of a violent passion threw her under the absolute sway of the most profligate of all men, who, by his treacherous and criminal insinuations, betrayed her into actions which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation, and can only be accounted for by the frailty and inconstancy of human nature. However, when we survey Mary's distresses and sufferings, exceeding both in degree and duration those imaginary calamities which fancy invents to excite commiseration and sorrow; when we consider the rashness of her youthful excessive passion for Darnley, as well as the natural effect of her ill-requited love, of his ingratitude, insolence, and brutality, we are altogether inclined to forgive her frailties, we even think of her faults with more pity than indignation, and

indulge in our tears over her melancholy fate as if they were shed for a more immaculate victim of arbitrary power and cruelty.

The accounts of Mary's death threw Elizabeth into the most violent emotions of surprise and of concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and mourning attested her sorrow. None of her ministers dared approach her ; or if any had such temerity, she sent them away with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment. She accused the secretary of state, Davison, of having entirely disregarded the command she had given him, not to communicate the warrant to any person, nor to suffer it to go out of his hands without her express permission ; and of having, in contempt of this order, not only revealed the matter to several of her ministers, but, in concert with them, assembled her privy counsellors, by whom, without her consent or knowledge, the warrant was issued, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent empowered to carry it into execution. With all the signs of anger and despair, she banished most of her counsellors out of her presence ; and treated Burleigh in particular with such marks of disgust, that he gave himself up for lost, and begged leave of the queen to resign all his places. She instantly deprived Davison of his office, committed him to the tower, and soon after ordered him to be brought to a solemn trial in the star chamber, where, though he expressed penitence for his error, he was condemned for his misdemeanor, to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, which was rigorously levied upon him, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure.

In the mean time, Elizabeth wrote a letter to the king of Scots, expressing the deepest sorrow on account of the lamentable catastrophe, which, without her knowledge, much less with her concur-

rence, had happened in England. She dispatched Robert Carey, one of lord Hunsdon's sons, to carry that letter to James, and inform him of all the particulars of the proceedings against Davison.

The most respected historians have all unanimously agreed in the opinion that this prosecution against Davison was nothing more than a solemn farce of dissimulation and artifice contrived by Elizabeth, who, in order to palliate her barbarous injustice towards the Scottish queen, made no scruple of sacrificing the reputation, fortune, and happiness of the most virtuous and able man in her kingdom. But, with all the respect due to the eminent character of Rapin, Hume, Robertson, &c. &c., it is but just to observe, that this opinion has no other foundation than the single testimony, or rather the conjectures of Camden, a cotemporary writer, whose unbounded partiality for Mary of Scotland, and prejudice against Elizabeth, is generally acknowledged, and whose authority unsupported by any authentic documents whatsoever respecting so remarkable an anecdote, rests only on a pretended apology privately written by Davison to his friend Walsingham, and in which he is supposed to have maintained, "that when the queen signed the warrant, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal, she appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she told him in a jocular manner, *go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, though I fear he will die with sorrow when he hears of it*; that in the same conversation she blamed Drury and Paulet, the two keepers of the Scottish queen, that they had not yet rendered the service expected from them by privately murdering Mary, and accused them of perjury, because, having taken the oath of association, by which they had bound themselves to avenge Elizabeth's wrongs, they had yet refused to lend their hand on this

occasion, *but others*, she said, *will be found less scrupulous.*" Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant, as he was well aware of his danger, and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured in a like manner to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh.

Now, how is it possible to believe, that such a wise and able man as Davison is represented, could be, at the same time so highly, so dangerously imprudent as to write such an apology, or rather such an atrocious libel against the queen, an offence lately declared a felony, (Eliz. 23. chap. 2.) and to address it to Walsingham, the confidential minister of Elizabeth, the most blindly devoted to her, and who could not, therefore, without incurring her displeasure, conceal from her such a writing? But even supposing that Walsingham, more faithful to friendship than to his duty towards the queen, was incapable of communicating Davison's apology to her majesty, he was evidently too much interested to conceal it from any body else, not to suppose that he did so, and that far from giving any copy of it, he would immediately have destroyed the original, had it ever come into his hands. It is still less admissible, that the wise, the prudent Davison was so unwary as to show or transmit such a dangerous writing to any other person than Walsingham. How was it then possible for Camden to get a copy of it as authentic as necessary to deserve any belief? besides, that pretended apology, far from exculpating Davison, would have been an additional proof in support of the principal charge urged against him, as it is confessed in it that he did assemble the whole council evidently without the consent of the queen, since the only object of

that meeting was to decide if he should obey or not her majesty's commands ; had he obeyed them, and accordingly kept the warrant instead of sending it, what sort of apprehension could he entertain that Elizabeth would throw upon him *the whole* blame and odium of an execution which had not and could not have taken place. The obvious absurdity of this reasoning is alone a sufficient proof of the forgery of that supposed apology of Davison.

Thus in my opinion may be put aside as chimerical that pretended voucher, the only foundation of the most odious accusation too lightly ventured by Camden against Elizabeth, and no less lightly repeated by the historical writers who have succeeded him. Elizabeth's wrongs towards Mary do not want to be exaggerated either in their number or in their magnitude, nor will the Scottish queen's misfortunes be less tenderly deplored, though in her panegyrics Elizabeth is not represented as a monster. She was, indeed, the primary cause of Mary's death, by ordering, or even permitting to bring to trial an independent sovereign over whom she had no right to claim any authority, and who could never be bound to submit to the laws of a foreign kingdom. To this, perhaps, may be reduced the only part acted by Elizabeth in this abominable transaction, which will be for ever an indelible stain on her glory. Vainly would it be objected in extenuation of it, that this measure was required, nay, imperiously commanded by the most important state reasons, such as the safety of the queen's life, the security of the protestant religion, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. How could Elizabeth, so much beloved and even idolized by the generality of her subjects, entertain the least doubt of the safety of her person or the extent of her power, without offering an undeserved insult to the loyalty of the English nation ? A much better

grounded political and state reason should have prompted her to consider, that by thus setting the first example of such an utter degradation of royal dignity, she paved the way to revolutions in factious times, and prepared a scaffold to the most virtuous monarchs. Had she been married and had any children, this reflection would probably have occurred, and suggested to her a resolution far different from what she was persuaded to by all the arts used by her ministers, who, as they had every thing to fear from Mary's resentment in case she ever succeeded to the throne, neglected nothing to draw Elizabeth on the side of severity.

As to Mary's trial, it is no easy matter to determine whether its illegality, the irregularity of its proceedings, or the injustice of the sentence, were greatest and most flagrant; there is no need, however, to add any thing in that respect to the unanswerable arguments solemnly urged by Mary herself in her examination before the commissioners on their first sitting. But as these were points of law and procedure thoroughly submitted to the decision of the council, of the commissioners, and particularly of the five judges adjoined to them, Elizabeth is entitled to be acquitted from any participation in their decision, and to that monstrous sentence, the execution of which was nothing less than a wilful murder, the more criminal that forms of justice were employed to give some appearance of legality, to what was the offspring of ignorance, of fear, or rather of flagrant prevarication.

An awful period in the annals of England was now at hand. Philip II. had just received a new provocation from Elizabeth; Drake had destroyed a whole fleet of transports at Cadiz, laden with stores and ammunition; he had insulted Lisbon, ravaged the Spanish western coast, and taken a Caracca ship laden with treasure. Roused by so

many injuries, allured by views of ambition, and animated by a most ardent zeal for propagating the catholic religion, Philip resolved not only to invade but to conquer England: he had accordingly prepared an immense fleet, the most considerable that had ever appeared on the ocean; it consisted of one hundred and thirty large vessels, manned by eight thousand three hundred and fifty seamen, nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers, and two thousand and eighty galley slaves; two thousand three hundred and sixty large pieces of ordnance completed that formidable power which the Spaniards had haughtily christened *The Invincible Armada*. The prince of Parma had besides twenty-five thousand veteran troops quartered along the coast of Flanders, and ready to embark the moment that the Armada should appear, to protect their passage towards the banks of the Thames; and twelve thousand French troops encamped on the coast of Normandy, waited for that opportunity of crossing the Channel.

To oppose this tremendous array, the strength of England seemed fearfully inadequate. All the sailors in the kingdom did not amount to fifteen thousand; the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size totally unable to lay along side of the huge Spanish ships. The queen alone seemed undismayed in this threatening calamity. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, called forth the exertions of her loyal subjects, and was not disappointed in her expectations. London alone sent ten thousand men and thirty ships; other commercial towns followed this noble example. All the loans of money which the queen demanded were readily granted by the persons applied to. The nobility and gentry, among whom were several Roman catholics, and

even aliens, hired, armed, and manned forty-three ships at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a very able admiral, was entrusted with the command of the navy, and had under him Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe.

*Ann. 1588.*

Elizabeth assembles her best officers, and judiciously arranges with them the distribution of her forces. The principal fleet is stationed at Plymouth; a similar squadron consisting of forty ships, commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset, is sent off Dunkirk to intercept the duke of Parma. An army of twenty thousand men is disposed in different bodies along the south coast; a body of twenty-two thousand foot and one thousand horse is stationed at Tilbury to defend the capital, under the command of the earl of Leicester, a very imprudent choice in such circumstances after the late conduct of this worthless favourite in Holland, from whence he had been recalled on account of his cowardice, greediness, and rapacity. The command of the principal army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, is entrusted to lord Hunsdon, and reserved for guarding the queen's person, and to march whithersoever the enemy should appear.

In the mean time, the queen sent sir Robert Sidney to Scotland, in order to strengthen the king's fidelity to his engagements with her, by representing to him the danger which at present menaced his sovereignty as well as her own from the ambition of the Spanish monarch. The ambassador found James in the best dispositions, and preparing to march with the whole of his troops to the assist-



ance of Elizabeth, notwithstanding the great offers by which Philip tempted him to join in an enterprize which he pretended to be chiefly meant to revenge the death of his injured mother.

The king of Denmark upon Elizabeth's application, seized a squadron of ships which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish harbours; the Hanse towns, though not at that time in good terms with her, were induced to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England.

The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, and riding through the ranks with a cheerful countenance, she elevated the loyalty of the soldiers to the highest degree of enthusiasm by her spirited speech to the army. She told them that she had been warned not to trust herself among armed multitudes for fear of treachery, but that she did not wish for life, if she must distrust her people. "Let tyrants fear," continued she; "I have always so conducted myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. I am, therefore, come to you, being resolved in the middle and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God and my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince in Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm. I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, the judge of your valour, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field." &c. &c. &c.

Delusive negotiations for peace had been opened at the beginning of the year, and intentionally pro-

tracted on both sides for the only purpose of employing the interval in completing their warlike preparations. At last the Spanish Armada, full of alacrity, set sail from Lisbon May 29th, under the duke of Medina de Sidonia, who, on the decease of the marquis of Santa Cruz, had been appointed to command. But next day a violent tempest scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and forced the rest to take shelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When this news was carried to England, the queen, presuming that the intended invasion was disappointed for this summer, and being always ready to lay hold of every pretence for saving money, sent orders to the admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge the seamen. Lord Effingham, however, dared to disobey her orders, and begged leave to retain all the ships in service, though it should be at his own expence.

Meanwhile all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and on the 19th of July the Spanish fleet was descried in the channel by a privateer, who immediately set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach. Effingham had just time to get out of port when he saw them coming full sail towards him disposed in the form of a crescent. He immediately dispatched expresses for assistance, and with his little fleet of about fifty vessels, he hung upon their rear, and supplying the want of force by address and activity, he delayed their progress until he had received reinforcements. His fleet now amounted to one hundred and forty ships, or rather barks, he skirmished with the Invincible Armada six days, cannonading them at a distance, and waiting the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents might afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered his expectation. A great

ship, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire, and while all hands were employed in extinguishing it, she fell behind the rest of the Armada ; another was detained by the springing of her mast, and both were taken by Sir Francis Drake. The English succeeding in all their attempts, their confidence rose very high, while that of the Spaniards abated in the same proportion.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place, in expectation that the duke of Parma would put to sea and join his forces to them. Effingham employed here a successful stratagem against them. He filled eight of his smaller ships with all combustible materials, and sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. They scattered terror and destruction around them, and twelve of the best Spanish ships were consumed or taken by the English, who had only one of their small vessels destroyed.

Medina Sidonia, finding that with his large heavy ships he could never resist the intrepidity and nimbleness of the English in their small vessels, abandoned all ideas of invasion, and prepared to return homewards ; but as the wind was contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to sail northward, and making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time. The Armada had scarcely passed the Orkneys, when it was assailed by a most violent tempest, the ships had already lost their anchors and were obliged to keep to sea : the mariners, unable to govern such unweildy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive, either on the Western Isles of Scotland or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked ; not one half of the navy returned to Spain. Such was the misera-

ble and shameful end of an enterprize which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the resources of Spain, and had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation.

This expedition was the occasion of the first genuine newspaper put into circulation in this country. The first number, published under the title of *English Mercury*, and still preserved in the British Museum, is dated the 23d of July, and contains the following article:—"Yesterday the Scotch ambassador had a private audience of her majesty, and delivered a letter from the king his master, containing the most cordial assurances of adhering to her majesty's interests, and to those of the protestant religion; and the young king said to her majesty's minister at his court, that all the favour he expected from the Spaniards was the courtesy of Polyphemus to Ulysses, that he should be devoured the last."

About this time died the Earl of Leicester, the most unprincipled of court minions. His life is but a list of poisonings and murders. Elizabeth bitterly lamented his loss; but, however, distrained his goods to reimburse herself for what she had lent him.

*Ann. 1589.*

A new parliament is summoned, February 4th, and Elizabeth receives from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths, the first instance of subsidies doubled in one supply, owing probably to the joy of the present success, and to the general sense of the queen's necessities. This generosity did not prevent her renewing, at the beginning of the session, her usual injunction, that the parliament should not on any account presume to treat of matters ecclesiastical. Notwithstanding this in-

hibition Davenport, a zealous puritan, ventured to present a bill for remedying spiritual grievances; but on Mr. Secretary Woley reminding the house of her majesty's commands, no one durst second the motion; the bill was not so much as read, and the speaker returned it without taking any notice of it. Notwithstanding this general submission, some members of the house were committed to custody.

Another instance of the imperious conduct of Elizabeth occurred respecting the right of purveyance, an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleasure take provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties, and make use of the carts and carriages of the farmers, stating at the same time the price of the whole; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and liable to great abuses. The commons had last session, found it necessary to pass a bill for regulating these transactions, but it was lost in the house of peers. The same bill was now renewed, and sent up to the house of peers, together with a bill for some new regulations in the court of exchequer. The upper house desired them to appoint a committee for a conference, where they were informed, that the queen had expressed, by a message, her displeasure that the commons should presume to touch on her prerogative, and would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in these matters. The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavour to satisfy her of their humble and dutiful submission.

Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee; she expressed her great loving care towards her loving subjects; she told them that she had already given orders for an inquiry into the abuses attending purveyance, but the execution of these

orders had been retarded by the dangers of the Spanish invasion ; that she had as much skill, will, and power to rule her household as any subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the assistance of her neighbours : that the exchequer was her chamber, consequently more near to her than even her household, and therefore the less proper for them to intermeddle with ; that she would redress herself all the grievances in these matters with the assistance of her council and judges ; but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending these regulations. The issue of this matter was the same that attended all contests between Elizabeth and her parliaments. In so great awe did the commons stand of every courtier as well as of the crown, that they durst use no freedom of speech, which they thought could give the least offence to any of them. It was in this circumstance that the commons, in order to prevent any information being obtained from their members, respecting what was said in their debates, passed a vote that no one should reveal the secrets of the house.

The almost ridiculous discomfiture of the Invincible Armada, had kindled among the English nation such an ardent desire of new expeditions against Spain, that a design was now formed, rather by the people than by the court of England, to conquer Portugal for Don Antonio, a natural son of the royal family of that kingdom, where he pretended to have a powerful party among his countrymen. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders in this bold enterprize ; twenty thousand volunteers had enlisted themselves for it ; ships were hired as well as arms provided at the expence of the adventurers. The queen's economy kept her from contributing more

than sixty thousand pounds ; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. They sailed, destroyed a fleet at the Groyne, landed in Portugal, took Carcaer and routed the Spaniards. Finding, however, no prospect of any party revolting in favour of Don Antonio, and their men being attacked by a pestilential disorder, they re-embarked, attacked and plundered Vigo, and returned to England with the loss of six thousand men by sickness, and with sixty prizes, most of which they were obliged to restore to the Hans Towns. They were far from being enriched by this expedition, yet the damage done to the enemies of England was immense.

Philip, earl of Arundel, eldest son of the duke of Norfolk, was now brought to trial for treasonable practices, conferences with traitors, and for having had a solemn mass performed in favour of the Spanish Armada. He was condemned ; the queen saved his life, but kept him in confinement.

The king of Scotland having made overtures for his marriage with a daughter of the king of Denmark, Elizabeth, as jealous as ever of any thing that would render the accession of the house of Stewart more acceptable to the English, endeavoured to perplex James in the same manner she had done Mary, and employed all means in her power to defeat or to retard this marriage. However, he exerted in this instance a spirit of which he was not supposed to be capable ; and in spite of all Elizabeth's artifices, he sent a splendid embassy to the court of Denmark, with ample powers and instructions drawn with his own hand, to settle the articles of marriage. They were quickly agreed upon, and the young queen sailed for Scotland ; but a violent tempest drove her fleet back to Norway, in a condition so shattered that there was little hope of its putting again to sea before the spring. James

instantly fitted out some ships, and without communicating his intention to any of his council, sailed in person, attended by the chancellor, several noblemen, and a train of three hundred persons, in quest of his bride. He arrived safely in a small harbour where the queen had been obliged to take refuge. There the marriage was solemnized, and the royal couple accepting the invitation of the court of Denmark, repaired to Copenhagen, where they passed the winter amidst continual feasting and amusements.

*Ann. 1590.*

The state of England was now flourishing beyond precedent. Elizabeth emerging from the most alarming crisis, had safely reached a situation where she had no revolution to apprehend, and might regard the efforts of her disabled enemies with a conscious security. She enjoyed to the highest degree the affection of her subjects, and deserved it by the wisdom of her administration, while the prudence and energy of her measures, crowned by a constant success, had gained her both the respect and admiration of foreigners. Yet she still found sufficient employment for her active spirit, and France was the new field where she was to display her abilities.

Sensible of the intimate connection between her own interests and those of the Huguenots in France, the queen had supported by her negotiations in Germany, and by large sums of money, the king of Navarre, who was at the head of that party; but the scene was now entirely changed. The king of France, Henry III., who had been compelled by the league to declare war against the Huguenots, finding slender resources among his catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the



Huguenots and the king of Navarre against the league itself; and by enlisting large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry, he was enabled to subdue all his enemies, when he was assassinated by a Dominican friar, on the 1st of August 1589. The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, had assumed the government by the title of Henry IV.; but the prevailing prejudices against his religion induced a great part of the French nobility immediately to desert him, while the league under the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, had acquired new force by the accession of the king of Spain, who entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions.

In these distressing circumstances Henry applied to Elizabeth, who made him a present of twenty thousand pounds, and sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men under lord Willoughby, who joined the French at Dieppe. This supply enabled him to march directly to Paris, and to attempt with success many other enterprizes, in which this body of English was of great service to him. In the next campaign, though Henry's army was inferior by more than a third part to that of Mayenne, he did not hesitate to encounter him in a pitched battle at Ivry, where he gained a complete victory. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he had reduced the town to the last extremity of famine, when the duke of Parma, at the head of a powerful army, obliged him to raise the siege.

*Ann. 1591.*

The duke of Mercoeur, governor of Brittany, having introduced some Spanish troops into the seaport towns of that province, it did not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth, that, besides infesting the

English commerce by privateers, the Spaniards might employ these harbours as a more convenient seat for their naval preparations, and might more easily, from that vicinity, attempt a new invasion of England. She concluded therefore a new treaty with Henry, in which she engaged to send over three thousand men to be employed in the reduction of Brittany, on condition, however, that in a twelve-month, or as soon as the enemy was expelled, her charges should be refunded her. In the mean time, Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Dieppe; and a squadron under the command of Sir Henry Palmer lay upon the coast of France, and intercepted all the vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers. But while Elizabeth, attentive only to England's security, insisted on an immediate expedition against Brittany, no enterprize was more urgent for Henry's cause than driving the enemy from the interior provinces, which would finally answer more solidly Elizabeth's purpose. He accordingly persuaded the English commanders to join his army, and take a share in the hostilities which he carried into Picardy. This occasioned remonstrances, warmth, and even menaces from Elizabeth. Henry succeeded however in pacifying her, and obtained that she should send over a new body of four thousand men, to assist him in expelling the leaguers from Normandy. The command of these forces was entrusted to the earl of Essex, a young nobleman, who by many exterior accomplishments, united to real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to have succeeded Leicester in her affections. But Henry's plan of campaign in Normandy was also superseded on account of more urgent operations, which called his forces into Champagne. Elizabeth was much displeased at this change, and even threatened to recal her troops, if Henry should per-

severe any longer in breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests.

In order to appease the queen, Henry led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Rouen, which he soon reduced to great difficulties. But the duke of Parma received orders to march to the relief of that town, and compelled Henry to raise the siege.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, which Elizabeth did not fail to impute to Henry's negligence in the execution of their treaties, she was sensible how necessary it was to support him against the league and the Spaniards; and by a new treaty with him, it was agreed that they should never make a peace with Philip but by common consent; and that she would send him a new supply of four thousand men, to be employed in an expedition against Brittany, and to consign into her hands a seaport town of that province, as a retreat for the English.

During these military operations in France, lord Thomas Howard sailed with seven ships to the Azores, to intercept a Spanish fleet laden with the treasures of India. But Philip, informed of it, dispatched fifty-five sail to escort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the English squadron, and by the heroic obstinacy of sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who thinking it beneath the English character to shew the stern of his ship to Spaniards, engaged alone the whole Spanish fleet, and during many hours fought with as many of the enemy as could find room to attack him; at length, covered with wounds, his powder nearly spent, his masts gone, his men almost all slain or wounded, his vessel almost sinking under him, he surrendered on honourable terms. This gallant admiral, so gloriously emulated since by some of his successors in the English navy, and particularly by the late lord Nelson, died three days after of his wounds, and

his ship, the first English man of war which the Spaniards had ever taken, sunk at sea with three hundred men on board. Lord Howard, with the rest of the squadron, returned safely to England; and the Indian fleet, long detained in the Havannah from the fear of the English, was obliged at last to set sail in an improper season, and most of them perished by shipwreck.

*Ann. 1592, 1593.*

The year 1592 offers no other occurrences worth noticing, than the capture of two Spanish ships richly laden, and the unexampled sultriness of the summer. The Thames was so dried up on September 6th, by a strong westerly wind, that between the tower and London bridge people crossed it dryshod.

Cautious as the queen had been in the war expences, it was computed that since the beginning of it, she had spent, either in France and Flanders, or in her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thousand pounds, a charge too heavy for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned therefore a parliament on the 19th of February, 1593, in order to obtain a supply; and though in want of their compliance in that respect, there never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty and imperious manner, or whose privileges she more openly violated.

When the speaker made the three usual requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her person, and of liberty of speech, she answered by the mouth of the lord keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the commons, but not the liberty for every one to speak what he chose, as their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of *aye* or *no*. That she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle

heads, so negligent of their own safety, as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider of these things, and could better judge of them. That she would not impeach the freedom of their persons; but they must beware lest, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected; and that she would not refuse them access to her person, provided it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at times convenient, when she might have leisure from other important affairs of the realm.

Notwithstanding these menacing injunctions, the intrepid Wentworth ventured to present to the lord keeper a petition, in which he desired the upper house to join with the lower in supplication to her majesty. Though this method of proceeding was respectful and cautious, the queen sent Wentworth immediately to the tower; committed sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the fleet prison, as well as Stephens and Welsh, two members to whom sir Thomas had communicated his intention. A fortnight after, a motion being made in the house to petition the queen for the release of these members, it was answered by all the privy counsellors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that pressing her on that subject would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to serve. She would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own spontaneous accord than from their suggestion. The house willingly acquiesced in this reasoning.

Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, another puritan, whose zeal was not easily restrained, was not prevented by these examples from making a motion

for redressing the abuses in the bishop's courts. The queen sent for the speaker, and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to dissolve them, in her power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form; that her purpose in summoning this parliament was two-fold; to have laws enacted for the further enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation against the exorbitant power of Spain; that these two points ought therefore to be the object of their deliberations; she had enjoined them neither to meddle with matters of state nor of religion, and she wondered how any one could be so assuming as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition; that she was highly offended with this presumption, and took the present opportunity to reiterate her commands, and to require, that no bill regarding either state or religious affairs be exhibited in the house; and that in particular, she charged the speaker upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as to permit them to be debated by the members. This command from the queen was submitted to without further question: Morrice was seized in the house itself by the serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury castle.

The queen having thus imperiously marked out the line of division between her immense prerogative and the almost imperceptible privileges to which she condescended to acknowledge the lower house to be entitled, the commons obsequiously acquiesced to her decision in all respects, and granted her a considerable supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths. But this sum not appearing sufficient to

the court, the peers proposed a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths. The commons, who were in possession of the privilege of beginning bills of subsidy, took offence at this encroachment of the lords, and at first absolutely refused the proposal; but they both agreed to a conference, and afterwards voted the additional grant. They also passed a law against *recusants*, which enacted that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that if after being condemned for this offence, he persisted three months in his refusal, he should be banished the kingdom; and that if he either refused this condition, or returned after banishment, he should suffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy; a law which bore equally hard against the puritans and against the catholics.

The session ended with a speech from the throne, renewing the same high pretensions which Elizabeth had assumed at the opening of the parliament, and containing some reprimands to the commons, particularly on account of their not paying due reverence to privy counsellors, "who," she told them, "were not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the house, who are counsellors but during the parliament, whereas the others are standing counsellors, and for their wisdom and great service are called to the council of the state." She complained also, that when the last invasion was attempted, some upon the sea coast had forsaken their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to the enemy's entrance; "but," said she, "I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause."

London lost before the close of this year ten thousand inhabitants by its usual and periodical scourge, the plague.

*Ann. 1594.*

Henry IV. embraced at last the catholic faith, and his abjuration soon after proved a deadly blow to the league. Elizabeth pretended to be extremely displeased at his change of religion, and she wrote him an angry letter on the occasion. Sensible, however that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies, continued to assist him both with men and money, and concluded a new treaty with him, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

In proportion as Philip's ambitious views were disappointed in France, he resumed, on a new plan, his ideas of invasion against England. The conspiracy was discovered by some papers which were found about George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, who had been taken while he was secretly passing into Spain. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntly, the heads of three potent families, had already entered into a confederacy with the Spanish monarch; and had stipulated to raise all their forces, to join them to a body of Spanish troops, which Philip promised to send into Scotland; and, after re-establishing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power, in order to effect the same purpose in England. They were narrowly watched by Elizabeth, who instigated James to proceed against the three earls with severity, and confiscate their estates; the advice was certainly good, but James, with his limited revenue and authority, was unable to execute it, and she could never be prevailed on to grant him the least



assistance ; she even continued to increase his perplexity by countenancing the turbulent earl of Bothwell, who, more than once, had attempted to render himself master of the king's person, and being expelled the kingdom on that account, had taken shelter in England.

In the mean time the most atrocious machinations were contrived against Elizabeth's life. A Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her, from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma in the government of the Netherlands ; he pretended that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy of the same kind with Ibarra. The queen complained to Philip of these dishonourable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction. Elizabeth, instead of retaliating in like manner, sought her revenge in the fair field of war, by supporting the gallant Henry, and assisting him in finally annihilating the power of the league, Norris, at the head of the English forces in Brittany, assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimper, and Brest, towns garrisoned by Spanish troops. Morlaix had been promised to the English as a place for retreat ; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promise by having it inserted in the capitulation, that none but catholics should be admitted into that town.

*Ann. 1595.*

Philip's agents excite a revolt in Ireland ; he supplies the rebels with good officers from the Netherlands, and in a short time ten thousand men, led by the restless Tyrone, Macquire, and MacMahon, rise in

arms. Norris is recalled, with his troops, from Brittany, and sent into Ireland, where he soon puts to rout the insurgents, and reduces Tyrone to the most desperate situation; from which, however, he extricates himself in some measure by a series of deceitful conventions, and by taking advantage of some impolitic misunderstandings between Russel, the deputy, and Norris.

Elizabeth concludes a treaty with the Dutch, to settle the reimbursement of the money which she had expended in supporting them, and which amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds. Another treaty is also concluded with Henry, in execution of which sir Thomas Baskerville is sent over to France, at the head of two thousand English.

The expences of the war made against Philip, both in France and in the Low Countries, did not prevent those naval enterprizes, which either the queen or her subjects scarcely ever discontinued. James Lancaster, supplied with three ships and a pinnace by the merchants of London, had taken last year thirty-nine ships of the enemy, made a successful attack on Fernambouc, in Brazil, and had returned home with the treasure he had so bravely acquired.

Sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins undertook, this year, a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; but they missed the treasures of Porto Rico, the great object of the expedition; then, sailing to the continent of Spanish America, they destroyed many towns, and laid waste the country around them; but these two distinguished seamen fell by disease before their returning fleet reached England.

*Ann. 1596.*

A powerful fleet is equipped at Plymouth, consisting of one hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were large ships of war, reinforced by twenty ships from Holland. In this fleet were embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, one thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, besides the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex, the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, arrived off Cadiz, and immediately prepared to attack the ships and gallies in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash, but it was so strenuously recommended by Essex, that the council of war approved of it. Effingham then informed the earl, that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. But Essex no sooner came in the reach of the enemy than, forgetting the promise the admiral had exacted from him, he broke through, and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. The enemy was soon obliged to slip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men at fort Puntal, and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which he soon carried sword in hand. The English made a rich plunder in the city, but missed a much richer by the Spanish admiral setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The loss of the Spaniards in this enterprize was computed to amount to twenty millions of ducats.

Essex, incited by his ambitious spirit for glory, insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz, which he

proposed to defend with four hundred men, and three months provisions, till succours should arrive from England; but the seamen and soldiers, impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder, rejected this and every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy. They fortunately escaped a very serious danger on their return to England. The Spanish admiral had sailed with a very numerous fleet and eight thousand soldiers, intending to land a body of veterans in the west of England, seize the unguarded harbour of Falmouth, and wait at the mouth of the Channel to intercept lord Effingham's fleet, on its return from Cadiz. But when they had gained sight of Scilly, and a council of war was sitting on board the admiral's ship, a sudden storm arose with such violence, that it prevented the captains from returning to their vessels. Forty of the fleet were lost, or forced into hostile ports, and the rest utterly disabled. The same tempest met the victorious fleet of England, but the ships being lighter and better manned, escaped with little damage. Elizabeth, though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, expressed her satisfaction to the other officers. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham, and as the taking of Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships, were mentioned in the preamble of the patent, Essex, pretending that this merit belonged exclusively to himself, offered to maintain this plea by single combat against Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

*Ann. 1597.*

Philip assembling a new fleet at Corunna and the Groyne, and marching troops thither with a view of making a descent on Ireland, Elizabeth, in order to prevent the enterprize, and destroy the

shipping in these harbours, prepares a force of one hundred and twenty sail, five thousand new-levied soldiers, with one thousand veterans. The earl of Essex is appointed commander in chief both of the land and sea forces of the first squadron, lord Thomas Howard of another, and sir Walter Raleigh of the third. A tempest assailed Philip's armament on its outset from port; while the English fleet was detained by contrary winds until its provisions were nearly exhausted. A part of the ships, however, put to sea, and sailed for the Azores, with a view of intercepting the Indian fleet, out of which Essex took only three ships, which were so richly laden as to repay the expences of the expedition.

Essex is promoted to the dignity of earl marshal of England, which had been vacant since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury.

A parliament is summoned, October 24th; the lord keeper informs this assembly of the necessity of a supply, as the queen, in defence of the religion, liberty, and independence of England, had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her; and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands. The parliament grant her three subsidies and six fifteenths. Yelverton, who was proposed as speaker of the lower house, delivered a speech as usual, to urge his own incapacity. "Your speaker," said he, "ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well spoken; his voice great, his carriage majestic; his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy. But, contrarily, the stature of my body is small, my voice low, myself not so well spoken, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common fashion; my nature soft and bashful; my purse light, thin, and never yet plentiful." This

modest apology was applauded, but not admitted, and Yelverton filled the chair with sufficient dignity.

The commons venture to engage in two controversies, about forms and civility, with the house of peers. They complain, first, that the lords received their messages sitting, with their hats on, and that the keeper returned an answer in the same uncivil posture; secondly, that some amendments made by the lords to a bill sent up by the commons, had been written on parchment, when they ought to have been written on paper. But the upper house proved, on the first point, that by custom and the usage of parliament, the commons were not entitled to any more respect; and answered on the second point, that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons complained of this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them, but they obtained no satisfaction.

A dispute chancing to arise between England and the Hans Towns, concerning ships which had been taken at Lisbon, the king of Poland sent an ambassador to London, who having commenced a Latin oration in a very lofty strain, Elizabeth interrupted him with a rapid piece of eloquence in the same language, and thus took to pieces the speech of the malapert orator; after the audience, turning to the train of her wondering attendants, she said, "God's death! my lords, I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that has long lain rusting." After the wonderful abilities of Elizabeth in the high and arduous science of ruling a kingdom, nothing perhaps was more extraordinary than the extent of her learning. One day, when she was engaged in a conversation with Calignon, who was afterwards chancellor of Navarre, she shewed him

a Latin translation she had made of some tragedies of Sophocles, and of two harangues of Demosthenes; she even allowed him to take a copy of a Greek epigram she had composed; and she asked his opinion about several passages of Lycophron, which she was now reading, with an intention of translating some parts of it.

*Ann. 1598.*

Henry IV. receives an overture for peace with Philip; but as he had engaged not to enter into any treaty with Spain but in common with Elizabeth, for whom he had a very affectionate esteem and cordial gratitude for the generous assistance he had received from her in his greatest difficulties, he informed her and the states general of Holland, that a general pacification might be made by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France to remonstrate against peace. Henry represents to them, that his kingdom, exhausted and torn with convulsions of civil wars during fifty years, required some interval of repose ere it could reach a condition in which it might sustain itself, much more support its allies; that after the minds of his subjects were composed and accustomed to obedience, France would be enabled, by the restoration of her finances and agriculture, to repay her confederates all the services she had received from them in her calamities. This candid and plausible apology could leave no doubt that Henry was already determined to conclude a separate peace, in case Elizabeth would not join in the negotiation, which she declined, as Philip refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally. The peace between France and Spain was concluded at Vervins, May 2d.

Elizabeth could also have put an end to the war on equitable terms, had she been in a more pacific disposition, and such was the advice of her wisest counsellors. But this high-spirited princess, now free from all apprehensions of any dangerous invasion, considered that, in her present situation, the war against Philip might thenceforth be reduced to sudden enterprizes and naval expeditions, in which she possessed an undoubted superiority; that the yearly return of his Indian treasure by sea, afforded a continual prospect of advantages more than adequate to repay all her naval expences. These reasons she had heard frequently insisted on by the earl of Essex, whose warlike talents and passion for glory made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, while lord Burleigh, his rival in the confidence of the queen, strenuously recommended peace; but as Essex's person was as agreeable to Elizabeth, as his advice to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendent over the minister. Had he been endowed with prudence and self-command equal to his shining accomplishments, he would have secured his credit and influence over the queen against all the machinations of his enemies; but his high spirit, obstinacy and impetuosity, made him often depart from that implicit deference which her rank as well as her temper required. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation, and she instantly gave him a smart box on the ear, bidding him at the same time, "Go, and be hanged." At this, Essex clapping his hand to his sword, and swearing aloud that he would not bear such an affront, were it from Henry VIII. himself, withdrew from court in ex-



treme disgust. His friend, chancellor Egerton, vainly entreated him to appease the queen by proper acknowledgments; he answered his exhortations by a bold spirited letter, which he had the imprudence to shew to his friends, who dispersed copies of it.

Notwithstanding this additional provocation, Elizabeth, induced either by her prevalent partiality for Essex, or by the consciousness that her resentment against him had carried her to a degree of violence ill becoming her own dignity, she reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather increased by this interval of anger. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened nearly at the same time, seemed to ensure him the queen's exclusive confidence. The last act of Burleigh's administration, was a new treaty with the Dutch, who were so interested to preserve the queen's alliance, that they readily submitted to any terms which she pleased to require of them, particularly respecting the re-payment of the eight hundred thousand pounds they owed her.

Soon after the death of Burleigh, Elizabeth was informed of the death of her inveterate enemy, Philip II.

*Ann. 1599.*

Rebellion in Ireland had now risen to a dangerous height, by the intrigues and machinations of the earl of Tyrone. Elizabeth, sensible that all the temporizing measures which had been hitherto used, served only to encourage the spirit of disorder and mutiny among these rebels, resolved to employ more vigorous means, and was on the point of sending lord Mountjoy to command in that country, when the earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, expressed his desire of obtaining this government for him-

self; and no sooner was his desire known, than his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes, in hopes that his being removed from court, their private aims of preferment would be more likely to succeed, and that if the queen had once leisure to forget by his absence the charms of his person and conversation, she would soon be disgusted with his haughty, impatient, and imperious demeanour.

Elizabeth, who was much prepossessed in favour of Essex's genius and military talents, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of Lord Lieutenant, and granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever been conferred on any lieutenant. In order to insure his success, she put under his command an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, a force which was deemed sufficient to make in one campaign the entire conquest of Ireland. His first act, upon entering on his new command, was to appoint general of the horse his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, who had incurred the queen's displeasure by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this act of disobedience, than, with a severe reprimand, she sent him orders to recall his commission to Southampton; but he had the imprudence to remonstrate against this second order, and it was not till she reiterated her commands that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend.

On his landing at Dublin, instead of marching immediately against the enemy in their important retreat of Ulster, according to the plan he had himself proposed, and which being adopted by the queen was one of the principal points of his instructions, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his oppor-

tunity against a people that submitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired, until the great and expensive army of England was so much reduced by sickness and desertion, that he could not attempt any thing this season against Tyrone without reinforcements. That there might be no pretence for further inactivity, the queen immediately sent over the number of troops he demanded, which, however, proved insufficient, as the army was so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, and many others deserted. In this situation he hearkened to Tyrone's proposition, and a cessation of arms was concluded on the 1st of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks, but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning.

So unexpected an issue of the most expensive enterprise undertaken by Elizabeth, extremely increased the disgust which Essex had given her by several letters to her majesty and council, full of peevish and impatient expressions, complaining of his enemies; lamenting that their calumnies should be believed instead of being punished. Elizabeth took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction, and commanded him to remain in Ireland till further orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, sir Robert Cecil, the son of the late lord Burleigh, to an office to which he himself aspired. Alarmed at this intelligence he hastily embraced a resolution, which he knew had succeeded with Leicester in the same circumstances. He immediately set out for England, and making speedy journies he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprised of his intentions. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened to the queen's bedchamber, and found her newly rising,

sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, had some private conversation with her, and was so graciously received, that, on his departure, he was heard to say, that though he had suffered troubles and storms abroad he had found a sweet calm at home.

This placability of Elizabeth was merely owing to her surprize and momentary satisfaction, on the unexpected appearance of her favourite; but this first moment being over, she reflected on the impropriety of his conduct, and she thought it necessary to subdue that imperious haughty spirit, who, presuming on her partiality, ventured to act in the most important affairs without any regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon he found her extremely altered. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber, to be twice examined by the council, and though his answers were very submissive, she committed him to the custody of the lord keeper, Egerton. Essex used every expression of sorrow, humiliation, and entire submission to the queen's will. Soon after, he sickened at the queen's displeasure, and when she heard of it, she was not a little alarmed at his situation. She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation to attend him; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent doctor James to him with some broth, and a message of still greater virtue; she desired that physician to tell him, that she would herself pay him a visit, if she thought such a step consistent with her honour. It was remarked, that in pronouncing these words her eyes were suffused with tears.

*Ann. 1600.*

On new year's day Essex wrote a letter to the queen, and sent her a rich present, as was usual

with the courtiers at that time. She read the letter but rejected the present. After some interval, however, she allowed him to return to his house, though still under custody. But the accounts she received from Ireland convincing her more and more of Essex's misconduct in that government, kept her anger alive against him ; the more so, that lord Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in the office of lord lieutenant, had in a very short time compelled the rebels to take shelter in the woods and morasses, and given new life to the queen's authority in that island. Elizabeth received an additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. In order to justify her conduct in regard to him, she had often expressed her intention of having him tried in the star-chamber ; but her affection for him still prevailed over her severity, and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy council. There he expressed the deepest sorrow for all his offences, submitting to a public confession of whatever the queen had been pleased to impute to him, with only one reserve, which, he said, he would never relinquish but with his life, the assertion of an unpolluted loyalty, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit. This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience. He was only sentenced to be suspended from his offices of counsellor, of earl marshal of England, and of master of the ordnance, and to return to his house, there to continue a prisoner during the queen's pleasure.

Elizabeth, satisfied with having thus far humbled

**Essex's** pride, did not suffer the sentence to be recorded, and allowed him to continue in the office of master of the horse ; she had even expressed beforehand to the council her intention that he should not be suspended from it. He might have regained his former ascendant over the queen, had he persevered a few months longer in his present moderation, and in the sentiments of repentance, humility, and submission, expressed in the letters he wrote from time to time to her majesty. But Elizabeth refusing to admit him into her presence, and to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of sweet wines, which he had long enjoyed ; this new injury drove his temper, naturally impatient, and now much fretted, to absolute despair. His friends, instead of soothing his anger, or restraining his impetuosity, added to both by their imprudent and interested zeal ; they succeeded at last in determining Essex to attempt to redress his wrongs by violence. But being conscious how unpopular such an enterprize would be, if undertaken from motives of private revenge alone, he endeavoured to mingle the king of Scotland's interest with his own, and he wrote to James that the faction which now predominated in the English court, had resolved to support the interest of the infanta of Spain to the crown ; and that unless he sent ambassadors without delay, to insist on the immediate declaration of his right of succession, all his hopes would be frustrated. James, who knew how disagreeable such a demand would be to the queen, declined to expose himself so rashly to her displeasure.

Essex, nevertheless, blinded with resentment and impatient of revenge, entirely abandoned himself to these passions. He now wrote to his friend, lord Mountjoy, in Ireland, and almost persuaded him to transport his army to England. He secretly caballed with the Roman catholics, and openly with the

most rigorous of the puritans ; and he strove to form an association against Elizabeth among the magistrates and citizens of London. He had even proceeded to settle the plan of the insurrection ; his friends were to overpower the guards and seize the palace, while he himself, with infinite respect and humility kneeling to the queen, would insist on a new parliament, a new ministry, and a settlement of the succession. But the greatest imprudence of Essex was his indulging in such liberties of speech, as never to be forgiven by a woman of Elizabeth's character. He was heard to say, *that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body.*

*Ann. 1601.*

While these desperate measures were in agitation Essex was surrounded with spies, and all his plans, as soon as formed, were made known to the queen. He received a summons to attend the council, February 7th. He concluded that his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected, and excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition. In the mean time he dispatched messengers to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in his present critical situation. Next day three hundred of them, all gentlemen of good quality and fortune, appeared at Essex's house, where they were soon followed by some of the ministers, sent by the queen, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude who surrounded them ; the earl, finding that matters were past recal, resolved to leave them

prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his plan. He sallied forth with his attendants, armed only with walking swords, and cried aloud; "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life." He likewise called on the citizens of London, if they either valued his life, or wished to preserve the kingdom from the dominion of the Spaniard, to take up arms and follow his standard. He advanced towards the palace, and observed nothing but coldness among the crowds of people, out of which not one moved to join him. Essex, meanwhile, hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor all over the town, thought of retreating to his own house, which he effected with great difficulty, and at last surrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment and an impartial hearing. His trial and condemnation soon followed his apprehension. The queen signed with the greatest reluctance the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness; but what chiefly hardened her heart against him was, his supposed obstinacy, in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy, and she finally gave her consent to his execution, which was performed privately in the tower, February 25th, agreeably to his own request.

The earl of Essex was but thirty-four years of age, when his rashness and imprudence brought him to this untimely end. All the historians agree that he was endowed with the noblest virtues, generosity, sincerity, valour, eloquence, and industry; but they acknowledge, likewise, that he was very proud, haughty, violent, and obstinate, to such a degree as to annihilate, or, at least, overbalance, the merit of his virtues. The queen's unaccountable attachment for him, which raised him so high, and attached so much celebrity to his name, seems, on



the whole, the chief cause of his unhappy fate, as it made him forget, that though the sentiments of the woman were ever strong in her, those of the sovereign still, in the end, appeared predominant. Five of Essex's associates were tried and condemned; the queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were ignorant of the most criminal part of his intentions.

The king of Scotland sends ambassadors to the queen, on the apparent errand of congratulating her on her escape from the late conspiracy. The prudent Elizabeth, conscious of her successor's increasing interest in her own cabinet, receives kindly the message, and rewards its civility by an addition of two thousand pounds to the yearly pension James received from her.

Henry IV. made a journey this summer to Calais, and Elizabeth went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with the monarch, whom, of all others, she most esteemed and respected. But, as many unexpected difficulties occurred, it was found necessary to lay aside by common consent the project of an interview. The celebrated marquis of Rosni came to Dover in disguise, and has given in his *Memoirs* a very interesting account of his conference with the queen, in which he could not forbear expressing his astonishment, when he found that Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communicated their sentiments on the subject, had formed the same plan for establishing a new and more durable balance of power in Europe by the erection of new states on the ruins of the house of Austria.

The Irish war, though successful, and giving now a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland, required such expences as lay very heavy upon Elizabeth's narrow revenues. The necessity of her affairs obliged her again to summon a parliament, Oc-

tober 27th, in which, though in the decline of her age, and even of her popularity, which had been much impaired by the execution of Essex, she still supported by her vigour, the powers of her prerogative as high and uncontrollable as ever.

The queen not being able from her revenue to give to many persons who distinguished themselves, in civil and military employments, rewards proportioned to their services, granted them patents for monopolies, and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise as high as they pleased the price of commodities; which soon produced abuses the most intolerable, and the most pernicious in their consequences that were ever known in any age or country. A petition had been presented in the last session, complaining of these patents; but Elizabeth had still persisted in protecting the monopolists. A bill was now introduced into the lower house abolishing all these monopolies, and a law was insisted on as the only certain expedient for remedying the evil. But the courtiers still maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for success, if they did not make application in the most humble and supplicating manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. This opinion was supported by maxims of despotism, more worthy of a Turkish divan than of an English house of commons. But Elizabeth, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the house, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents.

The house, struck with admiration and gratitude at this extraordinary instance of the queen's condescension, voted that the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty and return thanks for her gracious concessions

to her people. When the speaker, with the other members was introduced to the queen, they all flung themselves on their knees, and remained a considerable time in that posture till she thought proper to permit them to rise. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the commons in the fulsomest praises, more appropriated to the Supreme Being, to whom he compared Elizabeth, and whose principal attributes he pretended to discover in her majesty. The queen heard very patiently this speech, and returned an answer full of tenderness towards her people. These compliments were followed by a more real and no less welcome proof of gratitude, by a grant quite unprecedented of four subsidies and eight fifteenths.

Elizabeth was desirous to encourage commerce, industry, and navigation, but her conduct was little calculated to serve these purposes; these sales of patents for monopoly, to which she recurred so frequently, extinguished all domestic industry, while the exclusive companies she created in her wants of money were an immediate check on foreign trade.

*Ann. 1602, 1603.*

There occurred in the course of this year no other events worth notice than the capture of a Caracca, valued at a million of ducats, and the defeat and surrender of the earl of Tyrone in Ireland, which hastened the final settlement of all disturbances in that country. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event. In spite of the constant prosperity of a long and glorious reign, she was a prey to a profound and incurable melancholy, which appeared both in her countenance and behaviour. She could not bear company, she constantly sat alone in the dark, and was often found drowned in tears. Various conjectures were formed on the causes of

a disorder from which she seemed to be exempted by the natural cheerfulness of her temper. The most common opinion was, that it flowed from grief for the earl of Essex, for whose memory she retained an extraordinary regard, deploring chiefly his obstinacy, and seldom mentioning his name without tears. These reproaches of obstinacy were elucidated by an accident which happened soon after her retiring to Richmond, and which reviving her affection with new tenderness, embittered her sorrows.

The countess of Nottingham being on her death bed, desired to see the queen in order to reveal something to her, without discovering which, she could not die in peace. When the queen came into her chamber, she told her, that while Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of imploring pardon in the manner which the queen herself had prescribed, by returning a ring, which, during the height of his favour she had given him, with a promise, that if in any future distress, he sent that back to her as a token, it should entitle him to her protection; that lady Scroop was the person he intended to employ in order to present it; that, by a mistake, it was put into her hands, and that she having communicated the matter to her husband, one of Essex's most implacable enemies, he had forbidden her either to deliver it to the queen, or to return it to the earl. The countess having thus disclosed her secret, begged the queen's forgiveness; but Elizabeth, who now saw both the malice of the earl's enemies, and how unjustly she had suspected him of inflexible obstinacy, replied, "God may forgive you, but I never can!" and left the room in great emotion. From that moment her spirits sank entirely; she could scarcely taste food; she refused all the medicines prescribed by her physicians; declaring, that she wished to die.

No entreaties could prevail on her to go to bed. She sat on cushions during ten days and nights, pensive and silent, holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open and fixed on the ground. The only thing to which she seemed to give any attention, were the acts of devotion performed in her apartment by the archbishop of Canterbury; and in these, she joined with great appearance of fervour. As her end was visibly approaching, the council being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary to know her will with regard to a successor. She answered with a faint voice, that as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her; and that her cousin the king of Scots should be her successor. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed: she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently without further struggle or convulsion, on the 24th day of March 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and forty-fifth of her reign. She was the last sovereign of the house of Tudor.

This illustrious princess, whose memory will for ever live in the hearts of a grateful nation, indebted to her for an unprecedented happiness, has been the object of bitter censure and exaggerated applause, both of which history must put aside, in delineating a character so conspicuous among the greatest monarchs, and at the same time the most extraordinary of all, as it united the noblest qualifications of one sex to the less amiable weaknesses of the other. On considering her only as a sovereign, and in her management of all matters respecting government, politics, or state affairs, we wonder at her displaying invariably a degree of vigour, constancy, magnanimity, penetration, prudence,

and vigilance which was never surpassed. It is true, indeed, that she would never admit any limit to the royal prerogative, and carried it farther than any of her predecessors; but she very seldom exerted it in any act that did not turn to the benefit of the people. Besides, the deserved confidence of her subjects in her constant cares and attention for their happiness, had raised her so high above all laws, that she was allowed to do with them what she pleased; and though she occasionally abused such an unlimited authority, the only instance perhaps for which no apology can be offered, is her behaviour towards the Scottish queen, not only in bringing her to trial, but in having kept her during nineteen years in the most rigorous confinement, without any sort of right, or even necessity, and contrary to all sentiments of justice and humanity. It may be said that in this particular case, she acted rather with the power than in the character of a sovereign, and less as a queen than as a jealous revengeful woman against a rival superior to her in beauty. This forms, indeed, one of the strongest features of Elizabeth's character, considered as a woman. She was not contented with being reckoned amongst the most powerful and respected monarchs of her age, she wanted also to be admired, to be adored, as the handsomest of all women. Thence her everlasting fondness for the grossest flatteries on her beauty, graces, and youth, even to extreme old age; thence her caprices, and daily changes in her dress, always extraordinary, and often ridiculous. But there were also two principal and most prominent circumstances in her character, which few historians have attempted to examine and none to explain; viz. the nature of her affection to her favourites, and the causes of her antipathy to wedlock in general. Without presuming to give a satisfactory solution

of these difficult questions, I will confine myself in endeavouring not to leave them so much in the dark by submitting to my readers the following observations :

1st. There is no doubt that Elizabeth constantly wished, and eagerly endeavoured, by all the fascinating allurements in her power, to inspire love in all men of rank introduced to her, though she had ever one foremost in her favour, on whom she openly and exclusively bestowed marks of that tender and warm predilection, the usual characteristic of love, particularly when it is accompanied with such strong symptoms of jealousy as those discovered by Elizabeth towards her favourites. Thence it has been generally concluded, that she really was in love with them. But does not this conclusion dwindle into a very doubtful supposition, when we consider, that Essex, who was, of all Elizabeth's favourites, the most warmly and tenderly beloved, was twenty-six years younger than her ; that when she began to discover any partiality in his favour, she was sixty years old, an age which always cools, and generally extinguishes all existing passions, while it very seldom kindles any new one, but avarice ? besides, how is it possible to conciliate, not in a woman of the most common class, but in a most magnanimous and high-minded princess, any idea of love with her constant and unshaken antipathy against marriage, while on the other hand, it is acknowledged that she never gave occasion to any plausible suspicion of an improper commerce either with Leicester or with Essex ? These are, perhaps, better grounds to presume, that while these favourites were, at least apparently, her lovers, she was only their most warm, tender, and jealous friend, as none of these feelings, even in the highest degree, are foreign to friendship, and still less incompatible with it. As

to the objection respecting the difference of sex, it may be observed, that Elizabeth's character participated so much of the masculine qualifications, that she could never find among her own sex that congeniality of temper and disposition, the chief requisite of all friendship. In the mean time, as she naturally had a strong propensity to tender inclinations, with a proud consciousness that the strength of her mind was still superior and adequate to restrain them in proper limits, she selected the objects of her affection among her most accomplished courtiers, and was probably not a little induced to it by her immoderate passion for all kinds of power, on considering that she could have no other authority over her own sex than that of a queen, while she could find among men only the opportunities of exercising the double empire of beauty and sovereignty. This observation may have the greater weight, because in rejecting it, the only remaining alternative goes as far as necessarily to admit all the nonsensical dreams of platonic love.

2dly. Elizabeth's antipathy against her own marriage and wedlock in general, was probably owing to the same cause which proved to be the principle of almost all the actions of her life, which generally tended to gratify her inordinate and ruling passion for universal, absolute, unlimited, and undivided power. She could not even bear the idea of sharing or giving up any particle of it. She wanted no other motive to refuse many advantageous proposals of marriage which were addressed to her, and continued, however, to the last extremity, to employ the tantalizing prospect of obtaining her hand, as one of her best political means towards several princes whom she wanted to conciliate or even to gain over to her views. An exaggerated apprehension of an increase of interest



in favour of Mary and James of Scotland, was the motive of her opposing their marriage. As to her violent anger and resentment against Leicester and Essex, as well as against many others of her courtiers on account of their marriages; it is very likely that there was no more love-jealousy towards the former than towards the latter, and that Elizabeth was equally irritated against all of them for their presuming to submit themselves to any other dependence or influence than her own. This supposition is strengthened by the displeasure which Elizabeth peevishly expressed respecting the marriage of the maids or girls belonging to the court, as isevinced by several anecdotes to be found in the cotemporary writers. (See the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, by James Harrington, and the Continuation of Dr. Henry's History by Andrews, vol. i. p. 150.) In short, Elizabeth seems to have considered matrimony as an intrusion upon her authority, an offence which she could never bear, and seldom forgive. But these private faults, none of which was of a kind pernicious to her people, disappeared under the blaze of her public virtues, or were covered with the veil thrown over her less commendable qualities by the gratitude of a nation, the generality of which were certainly happier under her government than they had ever before been; and the English of the present age still mention her name with the same warmth, as did those who shared in the blessings and splendour of her reign.

Elizabeth's ordinary revenue was nearly five hundred thousand pounds a year. She received from the parliament during the whole course of her reign twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths; the amount of the whole, according to lord Salisbury's Journal, 17th February 1609, did not exceed three millions, during a reign of forty-five

years ; which makes only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a year. Her care to preserve her dignity, prevented her applying more frequently to parliament for supplies. She was thus reduced to continual dilapidations and sales of the crown lands.

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*General Observations on that Period.*

From the accession of the Tudor-dynasty, which begins with the reign of Henry VII., England enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity, which was protracted almost to the middle of the seventeenth century. The people were so tired with intestine discords and bloody convulsions, and so disgusted with the ever reviving contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, that they preferred submitting to usurpations, and even to the most arbitrary authority rather than involve themselves anew into the same calamities. These dispositions paved the way to the despotic measures which Henry VII. as all other usurpers, wanted to employ to consolidate his usurpation. Despotism, when once admitted in any government, is the more easily continued, that it requires much less energy to be maintained than to be introduced, on account of its being supported in the first case, by *established practice*, a rule generally followed in all governments, as if any other prevailed, factions and dissensions would multiply without end. Thus it is that this dynasty presents an uninterrupted series of despotic sovereigns, more or less arbitrary and tyrannical, according to the difference of their temper, their situation, and their views.

Henry VII. ascending a throne to which he had no right, could have no other view than that of

securing to himself, and to his family, the possession of it. Had it not been for the hardness of his selfish unfeeling heart, he would have endeavoured to supply the deficiency of his title, by deserving to have it supported by the good will and gratitude of the nation, which, at that juncture was far from being a difficult task. But as he himself was not susceptible of any benevolent affectionate impressions, he was equally incapable of trusting to the affection of others, and preferred to rest his security and authority on the fear and reverence of his subjects. The constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who, owing every thing to his protection, did not scruple to support his power, though at the expence of justice and national privileges. Neither the vexations of all kinds necessarily attending such a scheme, nor the arbitrary extortions and sanguinary measures to which he recurred in order to gratify his avarice and unrelenting hatred against the house of York, were ever derived from sallies of passion or momentary violence; they were only the consequent execution of a settled system of despotism, coolly and deeply premeditated, and therefore essentially tyrannical.

Under Henry VIII. the despotism, though not systematical, increased in violence, and the acts of arbitrary power were much more bloody and numerous; but he recurred to them rather out of passion than from a tyrannical disposition; and as the means best suited to the impetuosity and abruptness of his temper. Such was the opinion of the multitude which he had so thoroughly captivated by his shining exterior qualities, that, far from styling him a tyrant or a despot, they were inclined to admire his energy in those dreadful acts of vio-

lence which were exercised over themselves, without injuring his popularity.

During the short reign of the young Edward VI. despotism was continued by the protectors as an established practice, but its continuation was moderate and seldom disgraced by bloodshed.

Mary's obstinacy, bigotry, malignity, revenge, and narrow understanding, raised despotism to the highest degree of tyranny and cruelty; she made it, as it made herself, generally detested.

Elizabeth's popularity was never impaired by her frequent and even violent exertions of the prerogative, which she found means to raise much higher than any of her predecessors, and without any opposition, as she took great care of never openly infringing *the then established liberties* of the people; but she eluded them so completely, that they were almost reduced to a mere insignificant word. She was, however, the most renowned and beloved of all the sovereigns that had filled the throne of England. Her popularity ran so high as to countenance her most flagrant acts of arbitrary power, and render despotism itself almost popular! What liberty of any sort could remain under a government where there existed such a court as that of the star chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary power of inflicting any punishment whatsoever in all cases that lay not within the reach of the other courts? This tribunal, whose authority was originally founded on common law and ancient practice, and had been enlarged by an act of parliament under the reign of Henry VII., was composed of the privy council and the judges, all men who enjoyed their offices only on pleasure; and when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge.

The court of high commission, established by

Elizabeth in 1584, was another jurisdiction still more formidable, not only by its methods of inquisition, but because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence. But martial law went even beyond these two courts in its prompt, arbitrary, and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law, which was exercised not only over soldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be punished as a rebel, or as an aider and abettor of the rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies pleased to suspect.

Besides these three courts, there existed another authority still more incompatible with any shadow of liberty: the privy council, or a secretary of state could, with a simple warrant, confine all sort of persons in any jail, and for any time the ministers thought proper. But, even in the regular courts, the practice of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave a great advantage against him to the lawyers of the crown, whose views never failed to be seconded by timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure; the more so, that at that time it was very common to see the jurors fined, imprisoned, or otherwise punished, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; thence no juries durst have acquitted a man when the court was resolved to have him condemned.

In the mean time, the legislative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy, while the sovereign was universally acknowledged to possess a dispensing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated and even annihilated by means of proclamations, which the sovereign was entitled to issue on any matter, even of the greatest importance, and

which the star chamber took care to see more rigorously executed than any other law. The established principles of the times attributed to the prince such an unlimited and uncontrovertible power, as it was supposed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumscribed by none. The homilies which were enjoined to be read every Sunday in all the churches, recommended, as a religious duty, a blind and passive obedience to the prince, which was imposed on all subjects of every class. None of the nobility could marry without permission from the sovereign. The earl of Southampton was long detained in prison by Elizabeth, and never forgiven for having privately married the earl of Essex's cousin. How could it be expected that the sovereign should pay more regard to liberty, while the parliament itself was entirely negligent of it, and enacted laws the most contrary to the genius of freedom, such as the persecuting statutes passed against Roman catholics and puritans. The representatives of the nation were scarcely any thing more than the organ of royal will and pleasure: opposition would have been considered as a species of rebellion: and even religion, the most dangerous article in which innovations could be introduced, admitted in the course of a few years four several alterations of great importance, from the authority alone of the sovereign, without the least opposition or even objection from the parliament. In short, it is but too true, that, during that period, the constitution, the *Magna Charta* were hardly any thing more than mere sheets of parchment, and that if the national spirit of liberty was still alive, and threw a few faint sparks occasionally, it was owing principally to the zeal and intrepidity of the puritans, who seemed to act the part of the Roman vestals towards the sacred fire.

Elizabeth left the English monarchy possessed

of a very extensive authority, and the royal prerogative raised to its highest pitch, but without means of supporting them either by money or by force of arms. Her constant reluctance to apply to the parliament for supplies, obliged her to recur so frequently to the sale of crown lands, and to exhaust so completely all other resources, that, at her demise, there remained but little to her successor of that independent revenue by which he could subsist without regular supplies from parliament, nor any means of influencing those assemblies. The effects of this situation, which commenced with the dynasty of Stuart, soon rose to a great height, and being more or less propagated throughout all the reigns of that family, were one of the principal causes of their misfortunes.

As to the state of the English naval force during this period, it is curious to observe, that Henry VIII. could not fit out a navy without hiring foreign ships from Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice. Elizabeth, very early in her reign, encouraged the merchants to build large trading vessels, which, on occasion, were converted into ships of war, and she herself built some of her own. She left at her decease forty-two vessels, out of which four only carried forty guns; two were of a thousand tons, twenty-three below five hundred; some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons, and the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was seven hundred and seventy-four; a very contemptible flotilla indeed, compared to the immense naval force, which, two hundred years after, has extended the dominion of England over all the seas of the world; and it is no less remarkable, that two hundred years also previous to that same period, as far as the reign of Henry V. England was, perhaps, the most formidable of the continental powers in Europe.

In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at one hundred and eighty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine ; and Harrison says, that, in the musters taken at that time, the men fit for service amounted to one million one hundred and seventy-two thousand six hundred and seventy-four ; though it was believed that a full third was omitted.

It is not precisely known how nor when the culture of the vine was given up in England, where it supplied part of the wine consumption ; it appears, however, that in the year 1578, good wine was made at some English vineyards ; those of the lords Cobham and Williams, of Thame, are expressly mentioned in Barnaby Googe's *Four Bookes of Husbandry* ; and in the *Maison Rustique*, an old and much-esteemed French book upon agriculture, there is a long chapter on the management of the vineyards in England, which he recommends not to plant in the neighbourhood of London, but in marly and sandy soil, northward to a river, on a gentle declivity inclining to the south.



## APPENDIX.

*The most Important Occurrences belonging to this Period, are proved by the Testimony of the following<sup>1</sup> Historians.*

## Henry VII.

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| <p>Rymer <i>Fœdera</i>, vol. vii, p. 849, vol. xii, p. 281, 332, 344, 389, 431, 497, 504, 550, 636, 679, vol. xiii, p. 75, 126, 132, 271.</p> <p>Hall, Henry VII. from p. 1 to 76.</p> <p>Bacon, Hist. of Henry VII. in Kennet's complete Hist. passim.</p> <p>Polydore Virgil, from p. 565 to 606.</p> <p>Records of Parliament under Henry VII's reign.</p> | <p>Statutes 2, Richard III, 1, 3, 4, 7, 19, Henry VII.</p> <p>Parliamentary Hist. vol. xi, p. 409, Stowe, from p. 480 to 485.</p> <p>Hollingshed, 504, 784.</p> <p>Rotuli Parliamentorum. Henry VII, No. 2, 3, 4.</p> <p>Mezeray, Daniel, Villaret, in the corresponding years.</p> <p>Rapin, Hume, Dr. Henry, reign of Henry VII.</p> |
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## Henry VIII.

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| <p>Lord Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII, apud Kennet. passim.</p> <p>Rymer <i>Fœdera</i>, vol. xiii, 76, 89, 249, 251, 269, 289, 296, 312, 327, 354, 379, 394, 408, 491, 566, 605, 681, 705, 725, 744, 769, 777, 795, vol. xiv, 37, 75, 100, 120, 129, 202, 227, 258, 308, 326, 400, 528, 780, vol. xv, 22, 23, 29, 49, 57, 98.</p> <p>Stowe, 5, 6, 288, and from 487 to 583, passim.</p> <p>Hollingshed, 295, 296, 547, 847, 855, 862, 891, 941.</p> <p>Strype's Memorials, vol i, ch. 1, and 5, Records, 23, 24, 25, 26.</p> <p>T. More, <i>Lucubrationes</i>, passim.</p> <p>Pasquier's <i>Recherches</i>, 431.</p> <p>Erasmus, Lib. 2, Epist. 1, Lib. 16, Epist. 3, Lib. 26, Epist. 55.</p> <p>Hall, Henry VIII, from p. 1 to 181.</p> <p>Biographia Britannica, passim.—</p> <p>Rapin, Hume, Dr. Henry, Henry VIII's reign.</p> <p>Parliament. Hist. vol. iii, p. 2, 3, 8, 30, 447, 9, 113.</p> | <p>Thuanus, Lib. 1.</p> <p>Father Paul. Hist. Conc. Trident. passim.</p> <p>Buchanan, Lib. 14, 15.</p> <p>Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation and Records, passim.</p> <p>Du Bellai, Liv. 1, 2, 5, 10.</p> <p>Mezerai, Daniel, Garnier, in the corresponding years.</p> <p>Parliament. Records: Henry VIII's reign, passim.</p> <p>Guicciardini. Lib. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.</p> <p>Godwin's Annals. Henry VIII's reign.</p> <p>Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.</p> <p>Parliament. Rolls, Henry VIII's reign.</p> <p>Statutes, Henry VIII, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.</p> <p>Journals of the House of Lords, vol. 1, p. 84.</p> <p>Polydore Virgil, Lib. 27.</p> |
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## Edward V.

- Hollingshed, from p. 979 to 1067  
 Burnet's Hist. of the Reform, vol. ii, and Records, *passim*.  
 Strype, vol. ii, p. 457, and *passim*.  
 Stowe's Annals, corresponding years.  
 Godwin's Annals, corresponding years.  
 F. Paul, Lib. iv, v.  
 Buchanan, Lib. 14, 15, 16.  
 Rymer's Fœd. vol. xv, 164, 181, 226, 293, 364  
 Thuanus, Lib. v c. 15, Lib. vi, c. 5, 6.  
 Hayward, from p. 291 to 326.  
 Statutes Edward VI, 3, 4, 5, 6.  
 Parliam. Hist. vol. iii, p. 258.  
 Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iii, and iv, *passim*.  
 Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, *passim*.  
 Mezerai, Daniel, Garnier, in the corresponding years.  
 Biographia Britannica, *passim*.  
 Rapin, Hume. Edward VI's reign.

## Mary.

- Thuanus, Lib. 2, c. 3, l. 4, c. 17, l. 13, c. 3, 10, l. 16, c. 20, l. 19, c. 7, l. 20, c. 2.  
 Burnet, vol. ii, p. 233, 234, 239, 252, 258, 261, vol. iii, 243.  
 Godwin, 330, 331, 348.  
 Hollingshed, from p. 1086 to 1150.  
 Stowe, 612, 614, 616.  
 F. Paul, l. iii, iv, v.  
 Rymer, vol. xv, p. 364, 377.  
 Dépêches de Noailles, vol. iii and iv, *passim*.  
 Buchanan, l. 14 and 16.  
 Biographia Britannica, *passim*.  
 Strype's Eccles. Mem. p. 165, vol. iii, from p. 85 to 377, *passim*.  
 Mezerai, Daniel, Garnier, Robertson's Hist. of Charles V, in the corresponding years.  
 Rapin, Hume, Mary's reign.

## Elizabeth.

- Camden in Kennet, from p. 366 to 647.  
 Rymer, vol. xiv, p. 116, vol. xv, p. 505, 569, 593, 652, 677, 708, 731, 756, 793, vol. xvi, 151, 168, 171, 173, 190, 235, 292, 340, 366, 380, 400.  
 Thuanus, l. 23, c. 14, l. 24, c. 10, 13, l. 29, c. 2.  
 Buchanan, l. 16, 17, 18.  
 Davila, l. 2, 3, 4, 5.  
 F. Paul, l. 7.  
 D'Ewes Journ. from p. 81 to 373.  
 Stowe, p. 700, 747.  
 Bacon, vol. iv, *passim*.  
 Burnet, vol. ii, 373, 375, 378, and *sequent*, *passim*.  
 Heylin, from p. 102 to 166. and *sequent*, *passim*. Hist. of the Presbit, p. 320.  
 Strype's Annals, vol. i, p. 5, 73, 79, 95, 150, 370, 416, vol. iii. 377, 385, 512, 524.  
 Melvil's Memoirs, from p. 24 to 184.  
 Statutes, Eliz. 1, 5, 13, 27, 35.  
 Crawford's Memoirs, p. 5, 9, 14, 92, 136, 333.  
 Anderson, vol. ii. part ii. p. 115, 165, iv. part ii. p. 26, 51, 64, & *passim*.  
 Carte, p. 527.  
 State Trials, vol. i. p. 76, 78, 86, 87, 122, 123, 135, 138, 403, and *seq.*  
 vol. iv. p. 514, 535, 537.  
 Parliament. Hist.—Rolls—Records, Eliz. reign.  
 Biographia Britannica, *passim*.  
 Mezerai, Daniel, Garnier, Robertson, and Malcolm Laing's Hist. of Scotland, in the corresponding years.  
 Rapin, Hume, Andrew. Eliz. reign.

## MEMORANDA

*Of some Principal Events which occurred in the other States of Europe.*

## A. D.

- 1487 Celebration of the two last tournaments in Germany, at Worms and Ratisbonne. The invention of fire arms, rendering nearly useless the strength and dexterity which were displayed in those knightly achievements; they soon fell into disuse, and the gallant spirit of chivalry itself very little survived. A Turkish ambassador, who was sent to France under the reign of Charles VII., and was present at one of these tournaments, judiciously observed, that if it was for good, it was not enough, but if it was for joke, it was rather too much.
- 1491 The first French coin bearing any effigy, was coined this year at Lyons, with the effigy of king Charles VIII. and Ann of Brittany, his queen. The Moors, a formidable enemy to the Spaniards, are entirely subdued by Ferdinand, and become subject to that prince, on certain conditions, which are ill observed by the Spaniards, whose clergy employ the power of the inquisition against them; and near one million of the Moors are driven from Spain to the opposite coast of Africa, from whence they originally came.
- 1492 On the 2d of August, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his famous voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years after, Vasques de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. It was only by an accident that Henry VII. had not a considerable share in these important discoveries. Columbus, after experiencing many repulses from the courts of Spain and Portugal, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and obtain his assistance for the execution. The king invited him over to England; but his brother being taken by pirates, was de-

## D.D.

tained on his return; and Columbus having obtained in the interval the countenance of the queen Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprize.

Death of Lorenzo de Medicis, chief of the republic of Florence, deservedly styled the Great, and the Father of Learning. He was the great grandfather of queen Catherine of Medicis.

1494 Algebra first known in Europe.

1497 South America discovered by Americ Vesputius, from whence it has its name.

1501 The kingdom of Naples is conquered in less than four months by Lewis XII. king of France, and Ferdinand, king of Spain. Frederic, king of Naples, retires into France, and resigns to Lewis all his right to his kingdom, on condition of receiving in exchange the county of Maine; but the treaty was never executed, on account of the revolution which took place a few months after in the kingdom of Naples; and Anne of Laval, grand daughter to Frederic, having married Francis of La Trimouille, prince of Talmont, in 1521, transferred to him her claim to the kingdom of Naples, which became the foundation of the pretensions of the house of La Trimouille to that sovereignty.

1506 Pope Jules II. lays the first stone of the famous church of St. Peter at Rome.

1517 The beginning of Lutheranism.  
Egypt is conquered by the Turks.

1518 Magellan, in the service of Spain, discovers the straits of that name in South America, and is killed by savages in Marianne islands.

1522 The knights of St. John of Jerusalem are expelled from the island of Rhodes, by Solymán II. after the most obstinate and bloody resistance, and retire to Viterbe, until Charles V. gives them the island of Malta.

1525 Battle of Pavia, where Francis I. king of France, was wounded and taken prisoner by the Spaniards.

1529 The name of Protestants is given to the reformed, on account of their protesting against the church of Rome at the diet of Spire in Germany.

1530 A diet at Ausbourg, where the protestants presented their creed to the emperor to be examined; and this

## A. D.

- creed went since by the name of Ausbourg's confession.
- 1535 The reign of the anabaptists terminates with the execution of John de Leyde at Munster, where he had assumed the title of king.
- 1542 Gustavus, after a long concealment into the woods of Dalecarlia, rushes out all at once at the head of his faithful Dalecarlians, and re-conquers the Swedish throne by the defeat of Christiern.
- 1545 The famous council of Trent begins, which lasted eighteen years.
- 1546 The death of Martin Luther. Two days before, he wrote these remarkable words in the presence of John Aurisabert, who took a copy of them. "Nobody can understand the eclogs of Virgil, unless he has been a herdsman during five years. Nobody can understand the Georgics, unless he has been a ploughman during five years. Nobody, so I do say and decide, can understand Cicero's epistles, unless he has participated in the government of some republic during twenty years. Therefore, nobody should be persuaded of having acquired a sufficient knowledge in the reading of the Holy Scripture, so as to presume that he understands them, unless he has governed the church during one hundred years, with such prophets as Eliah, Elisee, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the Apostles." Luther lived only sixty-three years, and never pretended to have had any intercourse with prophets.
- 1547 The council of Trent is transferred to Bolonia, and being dissolved for the third time, was summoned again in 1550.
- 1560 The Protestants begin to be called Huguenots in France.
- 1575 Henry of Valois, who had been elected king of Poland in 1572, makes his escape privately from that kingdom, to succeed his deceased brother Charles IX. on the throne of France.
- 1579 The Dutch shake off the Spanish yoke, and the republic of Holland begins.
- 1585 The old cardinal of Bourbon publishes a manifesto subscribed by the pope, and almost all the princes of Europe; in which he assumes the title of first prince of the blood, and recommends to the French to main-

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tain the crown in the catholic line. This extraordinary step took place soon after the death of the duke of Anjou, Henry III's brother and apparent successor. The duke of Guise, concealing his ambitious views to the throne under the plausible pretence of excluding from it all protestant princes, persuaded the superannuated cardinal, uncle to the king of Navarre, Henry IV. to publish that declaration, by which the duke was appointed lieutenant-general to the pretended catholic league which he had formed himself for the only purpose of usurping the crown as soon as he could bring to ripeness the execution of his scheme, by affecting in the mean time to support the cardinal's claim. The queen mother Catherine of Medicis, whose youngest daughter Claude had married Charles II. duke of Lorraine, supported the interest of that family towards the cardinal against the house of Bourbon; while the king her son sent a confidential agent to the king of Navarre, in order to persuade him to abandon the protestant religion and unite their forces against the league. Pope Sixtus V. publishes a bull of excommunication against the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, declaring, that they had forfeited for ever all claims to the crown of France. Henry appeals from this bull to the parliament and to a general council, and causes this appeal to be posted up on the doors of the Vatican. The league assemble their army, and take some towns in Lorraine. Henry III. concludes a suspension of hostilities with the league, and agrees to deprive the protestants of the advantages lately granted to them; which strengthens the leaguers against himself. The protestants take up arms, and here begins the civil war, which lasted nearly nineteen years, and was at first called the war of the three Henrys, as Henry III. commanded the royalists; Henry of Navarre, the Huguenots, and Henry duke of Guise, the army of the league.

Gregorian calendar is admitted by the catholic princes.

1586 Useless conferences held at Montbelliard between the Lutheran and Calvinist divines; its only effect was to increase the hatred already existing between the two

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- parties; and Calvin's doctrines made more rapid progress throughout Germany.
- 1588 Bombs invented at Venlo; mortars some time after.
- 1589 Henry III. king of France, is assassinated August 1st, by James Clement, a jacobin friar. He was the last king of the line of Valois, which began to reign in France in 1328.
- 1594 John Chatel attempts to assassinate Henry IV. December 27th, and wounds him very lightly on the lips.
- 1598 Edict of Nantz, given by Henry IV. in favour of the protestants.

*A List of the principal Learned or Illustrious Men who lived during that Period, pointing out the Year of their Death.*

1486 Roderic Agricola	1556 Pierre Avelin
1494 Pic de la Mirandole	1559 Martin Dubellai
1506 Christopher Columbus	1560 Philip Melancton
1509 Philippe de Comines	1564 John Calvin, Michel Anax
1516 Americ Vespuce, John Toi- tème, cardinal Kimenes	1568 Roger Ascham
1520 Raphael	1579 Louis de Camoens
1529 N. Machiavel	1576 Titian Painter
1533 Luigi Ariosto	1582 George Buchanan
1534 Cornelius Agricola	1584 Ambroiso Pare Pufaar de Pibrac
1535 Sir Thomas More	1592 Michael de Montagne
1536 Didius Erasmus	1595 Torquato Tasso
1540 F. Guicciardini, W. Bude, Polydore Virgil	1598 Edmund Spenser
1543 Copernicus, W. Dubellai	1600 John Nicot. The first snuff plant known in France was brought by him, and, from his name, was called <i>Nico-</i> <i>tiana</i> .
1544 Clement Mareot	
1552 Paul Jove, John Leland	
1553 Fr. Rabelais	

*A List of the Cotemporary Princes, with the  
Date of their Death.*

<i>Popes.</i>	Maximilian 1519	Portugal is	Henry of Va-
Innocent VIII. 1492	Charles V. 1558	united to	lois, who
Alexander VI. 1503	Ferdinand 1564	Spain	abdicates, is
Pius III. 1503	Maximilian II. 1576	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	called to
Julius II. 1513	Rodolphus 1612	James III. 1488	the throne
Leo X. 1521	<i>Kings of France.</i>	James IV. 1513	of France,
Adrian VI. 1523	Charles VIII. 1498	James V. 1542	by the
Clement VII. 1534	Lewis XII. 1515	Mary Stuart 1587	death of
Paul III. 1549	Francis I. 1547	James VI. who	Charles
Jahus III. 1553	Henry II. 1559	succeeds Eli-	IX. 1574
Marcel II. 1553	Francis II. 1560	zabeth on	Stephen Bat-
Paul IV. 1559	Charles IX. 1574	the throne	tori 1587
Pius IV. 1563	Henry III. 1589	of England,	Maximilian of
Pius V. 1572	Henry IV. 1610	and thus	Austria 1587
Gregory XIII. 1585	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>	unites the	Sigismund III. 1632
Sixtus V. 1590	Isabella 1504	two king-	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>
Urban VII. 1590	Philip I. 1506	doms.	John 1513
Gregory XIV. 1591	Ferdinand 1516	<i>Czars of Russia.</i>	Christiern II.
Innocent IX. 1591	Charles V. 1558	Iwan Basilo-	expelled 1523
Clement VIII. 1605	Philip II. 1598	witz 1505	Frederic I. 1534
<i>Turkish Emperors.</i>	unites Por-	Basil Iwano-	Christiern III. 1559
Bajazet II. ab-	tugal to the	witz 1533	Frederic II. 1588
dicates in 1512	kingdom of	Iwan Basilo-	Christiern IV. 1648
Selim 1520	Spain 1598	witz 1584	<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>
Soliman II. 1566	Philip III. 1621	Fedor Iwano-	Christiern II.
Selim II. 1574	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>	witz 1597	expelled 1523
Amurat III. 1595	John II. 1495	Boris Garde-	Gustavus Vasa 1560
He had 200	Emanuel the	now 1605	Eric deposed 1568
children 1595	Great 1521	<i>Kings of Poland.</i>	John, his bro-
<i>Emper. of Germany.</i>	John III. 1557	Casimir IV. 1492	ther 1594
Frederic III. 1493	Sebastian 1578	Albert 1501	Sigismund ex-
	Don Henry	Alexander 1506	pelled in 1599
	Cardinal 1580	Sigismund I. 1548	Charles 1611
		Sigismund II. 1572	



*PERIOD THE EIGHTH.*

**JAMES VI.** of Scotland and **I.** of England, twenty-fourth King from the Conquest, and the first of the House of Stuart.

[Born June 19th, 1566; son of the Queen Mary Stuart, by Lord Darnley (Stewart); crowned King of Scotland July 29th, 1567, on his mother being deposed; married Ann, Princess of Denmark, November 24th, 1589; succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England March 24th, 1603; crowned July 25th, 1603; died of an ague March 27th, 1625; and was succeeded by his second son, Charles I.

*Ann. 1603.*

THE levity, inconstancy, and ingratitude of nations, or rather of the multitude among them, the courtiers particularly included, are never more conspicuous than at the end of a long reign, however happy and glorious it may have been. The best and most popular kings, when they grow old on the throne, are in general very liable to outlive their popularity. Such is the infirmity of human nature, that people, never satisfied with being well, constantly wish for better, expect it from a change of sovereigns, and even prefer the chances of it to a real but stationary prosperity. Elizabeth lived long enough to see evidently the alacrity with which the English, of whom she had been so long the idol, looked towards her successor; and it embittered with the deepest melancholy the latter days of her reign.

James, in his way to England, frequently met with crowds of men of all ranks flocking about him from every quarter, allured by the curiosity of seeing their new monarch. The king, though not disliking flattery, was still fonder of ease and tranquillity. He issued accordingly a proclamation, prohibiting such resort of people on account of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, which must necessarily attend it. In the mean time, to shew how sensible he was to the affection which appeared in his new subjects, he bestowed knight-hood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons in the first six weeks of his reign. A pasquinade was posted up at St. Paul's on this occasion, advertising for a necessary prescription to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobles. Among the great numbers of the Scottish courtiers whom he had brought from Scotland, he selected the duke of Lennox, the earl of Marre, lord Hume, lord Kinloff, sir George Hume, and secretary Elphinstone, whom he immediately added to the English privy council, though he left almost all the chief offices to Elizabeth's ministers, who continued to have the whole management of political concerns both foreign and domestic.

Henry IV. sends over to England the marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, as his ambassador, to propose a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, against Austria, in order to depress the exorbitant power and ambition of the emperor. But James, whose love of peace was the ruling passion, declined to take a part in that vast enterprize, and agreed only to support secretly the States General in concert with Henry. It was stipulated by that treaty, that the two kings should allow the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions, and should, under hand, remit to that republic the sum

of one million four hundred thousand livres a year, the whole of which should be advanced by the king of France : but that the third of it should be deducted from the sum due by Henry to Elizabeth ; and if Spain attacked either of the princes, they agreed to assist each other, Henry with ten thousand men, and James with six thousand. It must be said, in justice to James, that this treaty, one of the wisest and most equitable of his reign, was much more his own work than that of any of his ministers.

A conspiracy is discovered ; the object of which was to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation to the king. Two catholic priests, Watson and Clark, seemed to act the chief part in the plot, and to be connected with lord Gray, a puritan, lord Cobham, a thoughtless man, sir Walter Raleigh, suspected to belong to the sect known under the appellation of *Free thinkers*. It has never been understood, how men of such discordant principles could have united in so dangerous a combination, nor by what means they intended to carry it into execution ; but the confession and trial of the criminals put the existence of the plot beyond any doubt. The two priests, with another of the conspirators, were executed ; the rest were either pardoned or reprieved,

#### *Ann. 1604.*

The religious disputes between the established church and the puritans, induce the king to summon some bishops and dignified clergymen, and some leaders of the puritan party, to a conference at Hampton court, where the king was present, attended by his ministers, and displayed as much zeal as superiority of learning in the controverted points of faith and

discipline. A few alterations in the liturgy were agreed on, and the parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

A parliament is assembled, and the king, at its opening, fully displays his character in an eloquent and much-admired speech both in style and matter, though wanting of that majestic brevity, from which a sovereign can never deviate but at the expence of his dignity. He candidly confesses in it his too great facility in yielding to the solicitations of suitors, a fault, which he promises to correct.

Under the preceding reigns the chancellor exerted a discretionary authority of issuing new writs to supply the place of any members whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their sickness, or other impediment. Though the minister was thus evidently invested with an unlimited power of modelling at pleasure the representatives of the nation, the commons, of themselves, without any court influence, had confirmed that practice in the 23d of Elizabeth. Now, sir Francis Godwin, being chosen member for the county of Bucks, the chancellor pronounced him an outlaw, and having thus vacated his seat, issued writs for a new election. Sir John Fortesque was named in his place; but the first act of the house, was to reverse the chancellor's sentence, and restore sir Francis to his seat. The upper house desired a conference on that subject, but the commons absolutely refused it, as the question regarded entirely their own privileges. They agreed, however, to make a remonstrance to the king by the mouth of their speaker, in which they maintained, that the right of judging with regard to elections belonged exclusively to the house. James was not satisfied, and ordered a conference between the commons and the judges, whose opinion on this point was opposite to that of the commons. He expressed in

this order, that he gave it as an *absolute king*, an epithet which Elizabeth had frequently used without creating any jealousy. He added, that "all their privileges were derived from his grant, and that he hoped they would not turn them against him." However, in the conference the question of law appeared to him more doubtful than he expected; he proposed, accordingly, that both Godwin and Fortesque should be set aside, and a writ be issued by warrant of the house for a new election, which was agreed on, and the commons thus secured for the future the free possession of their seats, and the right of being the only judges of their elections and returns. They established at the same time their power of punishing both the persons at whose suit any member was arrested, and the officers who either arrested or detained him.

Elizabeth had ever taken great care of confining within the narrowest bounds the rising genius of the nation towards a free constitution and limited monarchy; but the throne being now filled by a prince less dreaded and less beloved, symptoms of that noble and wise spirit of freedom, no less distant from licentiousness than servility, began to appear in England.

The numerous patents for monopolies granted by Elizabeth, and destructive of every species of domestic industry, had been spontaneously annulled by James; but the exclusive companies still remained, and had carried so far their privileges, that almost all the commerce of England was centered in London, and in the hands of about two hundred citizens. It appears that the customs of that port amounted to one hundred and ten thousand pounds a year, while those of all the kingdom beside, produced only seventeen thousand pounds. The committee appointed by the commons to examine this enormous grievance, ascertained that shipping and

seamen had insensibly decayed during all the preceding reign, from that cause alone.

The king had very much at heart the union of the two kingdoms, which he considered as equally advantageous to both. But the more urgent he was in promoting it, the more backward was the parliament in concurring with him, as they ascribed his zeal on this occasion to his partiality in favour of his ancient subjects, which had already been more than once the topic of their complaints; therefore, their regard for the king went no farther than to appoint a committee of forty-four English and thirty-one Scottish members, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of a union, but without any power towards concluding it. In the mean time, as the commons appeared fully determined to refuse all supply, the king, in order to prevent, or to cover, a disappointment, which might bear a bad construction both at home and abroad, informed the house by a message that he desired no supply. Soon after he prorogued the parliament, and expressed in his speech his dissatisfaction at their behaviour.

The peace with Spain is finally concluded August 18th. At this same period, an event, as memorable as any ever recorded in history, was preparing with the greatest secrecy, for the sudden destruction, at the same blow, of the king, the royal family, the lords, and the commons. Such was the plan, as certain as incredible, of that famous conspiracy, well known under the name of the *Gunpowder Plot*; as it was to be executed by running a mine under the two houses of parliament, and blowing it up, on the first day of their next meeting, at the very moment when the king would harangue both houses.

The catholics had expected great favour on the accession of James, who was even pretended to

have entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion. They soon discovered their mistake, and when they found that James, on all occasions, expressed his intention of strictly persevering in the rigorous laws enacted against them by Elizabeth, the most violent rage succeeded their disappointed hopes. Catesby, a gentleman of an ancient catholic family, who first thought of that most extraordinary mean of revenge, opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. Both, misled by the most frantic fanaticism, considered themselves as the instrument of Divine wrath, for the destruction of the most obstinate and dangerous foes to all piety and religion, and the plan of Catesby was definitively settled between them. They agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and, among the rest, to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, whose religious zeal and courage were very well known. When they insisted any new conspirator they bound him to secrecy by an oath, administered to them together with the communion. A house was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining that in which the parliament was to assemble; and towards the end of the year they began their operations, after having provided themselves with arms and the instruments necessary for their labour. When they had pierced the wall they found that the vault below the house of parliament was a magazine of coals, which was selling off, as the vault was to be let after the sale. The coals were bought, and the place hired by Piercy, who lodged thirty-six barrels of powder in it, the whole covered with faggots and billets. The doors of the vault were then boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing suspicious.

*Ann. 1605.*

Ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand.

“ My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your  
“ friends, I have a care of your preservation ; there-  
“ fore I would advise you, as you value your life,  
“ to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance  
“ at this parliament, for God and man have con-  
“ curred to punish the wickedness of this time.  
“ And think not slightly of this advertisement ;  
“ but retire yourself into your country, where you  
“ may expect the event in safety ; for, though  
“ there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say,  
“ they will receive a terrible blow this parliament ;  
“ and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This  
“ counsel is not to be contemned, because it may  
“ do you good, and can do you no harm ; for the  
“ danger (*will be past in as short a time as you will*  
“ *employ in burning this letter* ), for the danger is  
“ past as soon as you have burned the letter ; and  
“ I hope God will give you grace to make use of it,  
“ unto whose holy protection I commend you.”

Lord Monteagle carried this letter to lord Salisbury, secretary of state, who did not think it worth any attention, not only as an anonymous writing, but as it was mentioned in it that the danger was past as soon as the letter was burned. He thought proper, however, to lay it before the king, who did not think so lightly of it. He found that the very sentence which appeared so foolish to Salisbury, and to all the council, had a double meaning, and signified also, that the danger would be past in as short a time as the burning of the letter would require ; and from this meaning, which



he thought to be the real one, he concluded that some vast, sudden, and dangerous plot, to be executed by gunpowder, was preparing, and ordered accordingly an inspection to be made of all the vaults below the houses of parliament. The earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, to whom this care belonged, purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked in the vault under the upper house great piles of wood, and Fawkes standing in a dark corner. The bold countenance of that man, who passed himself for a Piercy's servant, and such a quantity of fuel for the use of a gentleman who lived so little in town as Piercy, gave great suspicion to the chamberlain, and induced him to resolve that a more complete inspection should be made. About midnight a justice of peace was sent, with proper attendants, and finding Fawkes before the door, he immediately seized him. In the mean time the faggots being turned over the powder was discovered. The matches, and every thing necessary for setting fire to the train, were found in Fawkes's pockets. The proof of the guilt was complete, and far from attempting to deny it, he expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the mine, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. He displayed the same undaunted firmness before the council, and refused to discover his accomplices; but being confined in the tower, and the rack being shewn to him, his boldness at last abandoned him so far as to make him denounce all the conspirators.

Catesby, Piercy, and all their accomplices, whose number did not amount to more than eighty, as soon as they heard that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed to Warwickshire, and there made a stand in a house, with a resolution of selling dearly their lives to the assailants. But an accident, which

put fire to some of their powder, disabled them for defence. The people rushed in upon them from all sides, Piercy, Catesby, and some of their attendants, were killed, the others, among whom was a jesuit, of the name of Garnet, were taken prisoners, tried, condemned, and executed immediately after, having confessed their guilt. The lords Mordaunt and Stourton, two catholics, and the earl of Northumberland, who were connected with the leaders of the conspiracy, and suspected of being acquainted with it, were condemned to very heavy fines, for not having discovered it.

After so fortunate an escape from an attempt, as well contrived as it was atrocious, the king expressed himself, in his speech to the parliament, with a moderation no less remarkable and praiseworthy than had been his penetration in discovering the conspiracy. He remonstrated with great energy against the injustice of involving all the catholics in the same guilt, or supposing them equally disposed to commit such enormities, on no other ground than that of the heads of the conspiracy being catholics. "For his part," added he, "that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter his plan of government. While, with one hand, he punished the guilt, with the other he would still protect innocence." This speech concluded the session, and the parliament was prorogued till the 22d of January.

*Ann. 1606.*

James's moderation, or rather magnanimity, in this important circumstance, was ascribed by some to the weakness of his character, and by others to his supposed inclination towards popery. The puritans, in the fits of their rage against the catholics, were the most violent in their censures; they re-

presented as symptoms of idolatry and superstition the measures adopted by the king to support the authority of the established church, its rites and ceremonies. These unreasonable and seditious clamours did not prevent his majesty from persevering in his plan of softening the acrimony of his subjects against the religion of their fathers; he even gradually abated the rigour of the laws enacted by Elizabeth against the church of Rome; and by this wise toleration cleared so far his character from all suspicion of bigotry or fanaticism, as to be almost generally styled *the second Solomon*. The parliament was also, in this session, more respectful and less parsimonious towards him; they granted him an aid payable in four years, of three subsidies and six fifteenths, which Sir Francis Bacon said in the house might amount to about four hundred thousand pounds. The only point in which the commons incurred his displeasure, was their constant support in favour of the puritans, whom he considered as enemies to all kinds of government, except the republican.

The principal affair brought to the next session was the intended union of the two kingdoms, in favour of which two remarkable speeches, still remaining, were delivered, the one by sir Francis Bacon, the most wonderful genius of the age, and the other by the king himself; and it is but just to acknowledge that in point of good reasoning and elegant composition, the latter might be nearly compared to the former. But the parliament seemed to be swayed merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy, and all that could be obtained for the present consisted only in the abolition of the hostile laws formerly enacted between the kingdoms.

*Ann. 1607 to 1610.*

A petition being moved in the lower house for a more severe execution of the laws against the catholics, and an abatement towards protestant clergymen who scrupled to observe the ceremonies, the king sends orders to proceed no further in that matter. The commons, inclined at first to remonstrate against such a breach of privilege, acquiesce in it, on being told that it was supported by many precedents under the reign of Elizabeth.

The transactions of the two following years do not offer to history any memorable occurrence.

A new session of parliament was held in the spring of the year 1610, February 9th, when the earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer, minutely exposed the expences and necessities of the king, who expected to receive an adequate supply. But the commons, soured by religious prejudices, and, on that account, more tenacious of their money, could not be prevailed upon granting more than one subsidy and one fifteenth, which would scarcely amount to one hundred thousand pounds.

The lower house discovered likewise some discontents against the king's proclamations, by which he assumed and exercised alone the whole legislative power. James told them, "that though he well knew, that by the constitution and policy of the kingdom, proclamations were not of equal force with laws, yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inseparably annexed to the crown, to restrain and prevent such mischief and inconveniencies as he saw growing in the state, against which no certain law was extant, and which might lead to the great detriment of the subject, if there should be no remedy provided till the meeting of a parliament. And this

prerogative, he adds, our progenitors have, in all times, used and enjoyed."

James being informed that remonstrances were preparing against the proceedings of the *high-commission court*, which was pretended to exercise in religious matters an unlimited power, as arbitrary as that of the inquisition, he summoned the two houses at Whitehall, and addressed them with a speech, in which, comparing the Divine to the regal authority, he told them, that as it was a blasphemy to question the omnipotence of God, all contentions on the extent or limits of his own power were seditious; that as he would never act but according to law and reason, he would never suffer them to engage in any debate upon what he could or would not do. That they were allowed to receive complaints against the high commission, but that the cognizance and reform of the abuses which might exist in their proceedings belonged to himself alone, and that to pretend to suppress it would be a flagrant violation of the royal authority.

The king creates Henry, his eldest son, prince of Wales, and soon after the parliament is prorogued to the 16th of October:

A proclamation is issued expelling all the jesuits from the kingdom, and prohibiting all recusant papists to approach the court nearer than ten miles.

The session of parliament opened again on the 26th of October, and James soon perceived, by the unfavourable disposition discovered by the lower house, that the impression which his last speech had made upon them was far from being obliterated; so true it is, that the effects of despotism are less reluctantly submitted to than its principle. James's government was incomparably less absolute than that of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, yet neither of these two sovereigns ever attempted to set forth in their speeches from the throne a system, or rather a code

of despotism, so completely arbitrary. The king, displeased at the warmth of the first debates of this session (the journals of which are lost), and apprehensive of the consequences, prorogued the parliament a few weeks after their meeting, and dissolved them by a proclamation, the 31st of December, with the resolution of never assembling any other parliament; upon which the courtiers did not fail to congratulate his majesty, for having unshackled himself from the parliamentary yoke. This was his first parliament, and it sat nearly seven years.

*Ann. 1611.*

James having finished at this period the institutions he had been long meditating, to civilize the inhabitants of Ireland, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection as durable as useful to England, he thought of carrying them into execution. He, at first, abolished the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism. He substituted the English law in their place, and having taken all the natives under his protection, he declared them free citizens, and proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A small army was maintained; its discipline inspected, to prevent their preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. All minds being first quieted by a general indemnity, circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. Such were the wise measures by which James introduced humanity and justice in a country where the people had been buried for ages in the most profound barbarism.

It is painful to observe, that at the very period

when James illustrated his reign by such noble cares and meritorious acts of royal power, he shamefully disgraced his dignity by his unaccountable fondness and extravagant prodigalities of riches and titles towards unworthy favourites, who had nothing to recommend them but a pleasing visage, a graceful demeanour, and other external accomplishments. In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, whom lord Hay, his countryman, found means to introduce at court in the modest office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. The first time that Carre performed this petty service, he was thrown off his horse, and had his leg broken in the king's presence. James, most tenderly affected by this accident, ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed; and visited him frequently in his chamber during his confinement. The thorough ignorance and apparent simplicity of the youth, far from cooling the king's affection for him, seemed rather to confirm it. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he was delighted in fancying, that by his cares and instructions this raw youth would soon be equal to his wisest minister, and capable of being initiated into all the profound mysteries of government on which he set so high a value. His fondness thus anticipating the future imaginary merit of his favourite, he thought it but just to anticipate likewise in a due proportion the rewards of it. Carre was therefore soon considered as the rising man: he was almost at once knighted, created viscount of Rochester, honoured with the order of the garter, and made a privy counsellor. This advancement, unprecedented in its rapidity, was looked upon with envy by some, but more generally with contempt and ridicule.

*Ann. 1612.*

The sudden death of the prince of Wales was the most memorable, and no less deplorable event that occurred this year. This prince, endowed with the most eminent qualities which could adorn his rank and future station, had hardly reached eighteen years, and already displayed more dignity, and commanded more respect than his father, with all his learning, experience, and abilities. His only fault was, perhaps, not to have concealed so much as he should his profound contempt for the king, on account of his pedantry and pusillanimity.

The remains of Mary the late queen of Scots, the king's mother, are removed in great state from Peterborough, to the chapel royal at Westminster.

It appears that Carre's behaviour in the beginning of his favour, was so moderate and unassuming as to reconcile the people with the king's attachment to him. But the more modest he was, the more eager was the king to raise him as soon as possible to the highest degree of power and riches. His grants of money, particularly, were so frequent, that the earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer, was often at a loss to provide for the most urgent necessities of the state. In hopes to put a stop to these inconsiderate prodigalities, one day when he had received an order from the king to pay five thousand pounds to Carre, he invited his majesty to dinner, and took care to prepare before hand in one room, a shew of the whole money, divided in many heaps. When the king entered that room his curiosity was excited by the exhibition; he asked the earl what could be the destination of such a sum of money? On his being answered it was prepared for Carre, in execution of his majesty's order, he felt momen-



tarily ashamed of his lavishness, and reduced the grant to two thousand pounds.

*Ann. 1613.*

The marriage of the princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine took place three months after the death of the prince of Wales, and though it was celebrated with great rejoicings, its unhappy consequences proved no less fatal to the reputation and fortunes of the prince than of the king himself. The elector, encouraged by so great an alliance, engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength; and the king not being able to support him in his distress, lost entirely, in the end of his life, the remains of the affection and esteem of his own subjects.

The education of Carre was so little advanced that the king was obliged to begin his instruction by giving him lessons on the first rules of grammar. Principles of virtue and morality would have been much more useful to him, as it was not long before he gave proof of his being totally deficient in both, and unworthy of the kind condescension of his master, whose infatuation for this wretched minion blinded him so completely, as to make him find delight in being governed by him, and even in allowing him to give orders of his own, in important state affairs, without his majesty's participation; a fatal delusion, the consequence of which was, that this fellow had the audacity of making the king unknowingly lend his name, and be accessory to the most atrocious transactions.

These reflections relate to the amours and marriage of Carre with the countess of Essex, the particulars of which would be too long, and not very decent to relate. Let it suffice to say, that the earl of Essex had married a daughter of the earl of Suffolk, but they were both so young that Essex was

sent to travel, until they should have arrived at the age of puberty. The countess, during the absence of her husband, grew handsome, graceful, but unfortunately no less unruly in her tender passions. Carre having paid his addresses to her, easily succeeded in captivating her most violent affection. Essex, on his return, found his wife beautiful and lovely, and expressed a very natural eagerness of living with her in their matrimonial state. But she found every day a new pretence to decline his solicitations; and she was still persevering in her backwardness, when the earl was taken so dangerously ill with the small pox, that his life was despaired of; however, the strength of his constitution prevailed, and he recovered. But, during his confinement, the countess and Carre, who had finally resolved to marry one another, had been framing against him the most horrible plot, to enable the countess to sue for a divorce from him, on the plea of impotency.

Carre consulted on this occasion Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities, learning, and probity, who was sincerely attached to him, and to whom he had had recourse for assistance and advice from the beginning of his favour. Overbury heard with disgust Carre's intended marriage, and strongly represented to him the shame and danger of it. He described the countess as a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, scrupled not to prostitute her character by an adulterous passion; he even went so far as to threaten Carre that he would break for ever all connection with him, if he persevered in his criminal design.

Carre had the weakness not only of revealing this conversation to the countess, but of entering into her vindictive projects against the life of a friend, whose only crime was, the utmost instance of his

faithful friendship. For the execution of this infamous purpose, he procured a commission for his being sent in embassy to Muscovy; and when Overbury consulted him on this appointment, he earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, promising that he would take the first opportunity of procuring him a more advantageous situation. To the king again he aggravated the insolence of Overbury's refusal, and had a warrant issued for committing him to the tower, where he had taken care to have one of his creatures previously appointed as a lieutenant, for that very purpose. There Overbury was confined so strictly as to be debarred the sight, and all communication whatsoever with any of his friends or nearest relations.

In the mean time the countess had so successfully forwarded her abominable scheme against her husband, as to entertain no doubt of the obstacle of her marriage with him being soon legally removed. The king himself, forgetting both the dignity of his character, and the gratitude he owed to the family of Essex, entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. This scandalous trial took place, attended with the shameful examinations in use at that time, and the sentence of divorce was pronounced without any opposition from the earl, who embraced that opportunity of separating himself from such a bad woman. One month was scarcely elapsed when her nuptials with Carre were celebrated with the greatest magnificence; and, lest she should lose any rank by her new marriage, the king bestowed on his minion the title of earl of Somerset.

It still remained to complete the happiness of the new countess of Somerset, that she should farther satiate her revenge on the unfortunate Overbury, who had now remained in the closest confinement for the imaginary offence of having declined the em-

bassy to Muscovy. The countess accordingly engaged her husband in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison, which was executed in so violent a manner by an apothecary, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him. The great precipitation with which his interment was hurried, raised the strongest suspicions among the public; but the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some time after.

Salisbury, the lord treasurer, and the ablest minister that James ever had, was dead, and his successor was quite inadequate to the task of supplying from an exhausted treasury, the increasing profusion of James and of his favourite. The title of baronet was sold, and two hundred patents of that species of knighthood had produced as many thousand pounds. Each rank of nobility had likewise its settled price; privy seals, or bonds, subscribed by the king himself with his private seal, were circulated to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds; benevolences were exacted to the amount of fifty-two thousand pounds; and some monopolies, of no great value, were erected; but all these schemes proving insufficient for the king's necessities, he and his council saw no other resource than to try what he could obtain from a new parliament, and he consented, though very reluctantly, to give the necessary orders for its convocation.

*Ann. 1614.*

The parliament assemble April 5th; the commons, in their first sittings, engage in warm debates on account of a rumour that was spread, that several persons had been employed to influence the elections, and had undertaken to secure a majority for the court. But it was not long before the strong spirit of liberty displayed by that very majority,

clearly evinced, that if such undertaking had really existed, the undertakers had not succeeded in the attempt. Instead of taking into consideration the business of supply as urged by the king, who made them several liberal offers, the commons resumed the debate opened last parliament, respecting new customs and taxes, and insisted that the king had no power of levying them by the mere authority of his prerogative. In the mean time they applied to the upper house for a conference on the subject ; but a speech of the bishop of Lincoln having excited some altercation with the peers, the king seized that opportunity of dissolving immediately, June 6th, a parliament which, without granting him any supply, had shewn a firm resolution of retrenching his prerogative ; he even carried his resentment so far as to throw into prison some of the members, who had been the most forward in their opposition to his measures. In the mean time, all the sheriffs of the kingdom received orders from the council for levying a benevolence adequate to the king's necessities.

*Ann. 1615.*

In the midst of the enjoyments of love, honours, and riches, the favourite was a prey to the bitterest remorse of conscience for his most secret enormities. The gaiety and graces of his youth gradually disappeared, and were succeeded by sullenness and silence. James, finding no longer in him these superficial accomplishments which had gained his affection, was less pleased with his company. The courtiers, and particularly the enemies of Somerset, no sooner perceived the first symptoms of this disgust, than they offered to the king a new minion of one-and-twenty, and no less remarkable for the grace, handsomeness, and elegance of his person.

His name was George Villiers, younger brother of a good family, and just returned from his travels. At a comedy, he was purposely placed full in James's eye, and he engaged at the same instant the attention and affections of this weak monarch, who being, however, ashamed of this new attachment, endeavoured to conceal it by declaring his resolution not to confer any favour on him, unless entreated by the queen to take him near his person. This princess was accordingly applied to, but as she foresaw the extreme to which he would carry this new ridiculous passion, she at first refused to countenance it. Yielding, however, to the solicitations of the archbishop, she condescended to oblige her husband by asking this favour of him; and in compliance to her demand he immediately bestowed the office of cup-bearer on Villiers, thinking now that all appearances were fully saved.

While the court of England, thrown into parties between the two minions, and the struggles of the king himself, divided between his old and his new inclination, exhibited the most pitiful scene of ridicule; the discovery of Overbury's murder put an end to the controversy. The apothecary who had been employed in preparing the poison having retired to Flushing, began to talk so freely of the whole secret, that it came to the ears of the king's envoy in the low countries, and he immediately sent an account of it to the ministry. The king, no less indignant than surprized, to find such a monster in a man whom he had admitted to his bosom, sent for the chief justice, and recommended to him the most rigorous scrutiny. All the particulars of the guilt were unravelled. The lieutenant of the tower and the lesser criminals were first tried and condemned. The trial of the earl and countess of Somerset was postponed till the next year, when they were both declared guilty and condemned to death; but the

king granted them a reprieve, which was often renewed. In the year 1621 the king restored them to liberty, but without pardoning them, and on condition that they should live in the country. At last, in the year 1624, about four months previous to the king's death, they were finally pardoned, and obtained a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity, animated against one another with a more violent hatred than had been their guilty love.

*Ann. 1616.*

The fall of Somerset fully opened the way to the advancement of Villiers both in riches and dignities. In the course of a few years he was created viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's-bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham. His brother was created viscount of Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority; an infallible method of making of this new favourite and his family, a set of rash and insolent upstarts.

To gratify the whims of a young minion, and a large necessitous family to supply with riches, were extraordinary expences which James's exhausted treasury could not provide for. The Dutch still owed him six hundred thousand pounds, the remainder of the eight hundred thousand pounds lent by Elizabeth to the infant republic, to be reimbursed by yearly instalments of forty thousand pounds, for the security of which she had got, as pledges into her hands, the three important fortresses of Flush-

ing, la Brill, and Rammakins. But of these forty thousand pounds, the expence of the garrisons, amounting to twenty-six thousand pounds a year, was to be deducted, which reduced to fourteen thousand pounds the balance which accrued to the king. The states weighing these circumstances, offered to the king to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and to incorporate the English garrison in their army. The urgency of the king's wants, induced him to accept this offer, and he accordingly evacuated the cautionary towns, which restored the Dutch commonwealth to full liberty.

*Ann. 1617.*

The king's resolution to compel the Scots to conform to the rites of the church of England, meets with a great opposition. He takes a journey to Scotland, where some officers of his household had been previously sent, with orders to fit up the chapel of Edinburgh palace in the same style as that of Whitehall, viz. with pictures, and statues of the apostles, which much alarms the people, apprehensive of the re-establishing of the mass.

The king finds the Scottish parliament assembled at Berwick, and prorogues it to summon it again immediately, and opens the session by a speech, or rather by a long commentary of the proclamation by which he had already declared, that the only motive of his journey was the reform of some abuses in the church and the state, insisting on the appointment of a certain number of commissioners, to take into consideration all matters concerning religion, which was voted without any opposition; and then, without giving them time to proceed to the choice of these commissioners, he himself appointed them immediately, and chose them among the members most devoted to him. The



parliament attempting to remonstrate against the illegality of this appointment, he reprimanded them very angrily for their presuming to think themselves entitled to make a different choice after he had signified his intentions.

The first article agreed on by these commissioners evidently implied the decision of all the questions ; it enacted, that *whatever would be decided by the king, assisted by the bishops, concerning the external government of the church, should pass as an ecclesiastical law, to which every body should be obliged to submit.*

The ministers of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood entered into a protest against that article, and sent one of their members to deliver it to the king. The poor man was so frightened by his majesty's anger, that he fell upon his knees, craving for pardon, and promising that he would no more intermeddle in the business. In the mean time James, being sensible that all his plans concerning Scotland would turn to nothing, unless he could bring those ministers to a compliance, ordered them to assemble at St. Andrew's, where he would go and speak to them. But all his eloquence at this meeting could not prevail upon them to adhere to the controverted article, and they all united in the demand of a general convocation of all the ministers of the kingdom, to deliberate upon it. The king very reluctantly consented to it ; but he succeeded at last in having all the articles issued by the commissioners finally adopted by the Scottish ministers.

This business took up James's time and attention so completely, that he abandoned the whole management of the kingdom to his ministers, and particularly to his favourite Buckingham, who assumed the whole government of the church and state, disposing alone of all the vacant benefices as well as of all the offices whatsoever. It was generally said and be-

lieved, that he received for all these nominations some *douceur* or remuneration, in proportion to their importance; and the conjecture is strongly supported by the extravagance of his expences.

Raleigh had now been confined thirteen years in the tower for a conspiracy, which had never been proved against him, and in that abode of wretchedness he had written several works, and particularly his History of the World, which is still now in high estimation. His long sufferings and his unbroken magnanimity had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour. The king seemed, however, to have entirely forgotten him in his dungeon. But the present scarcity of money suggested to Raleigh the scheme the best calculated to rouse his majesty's attention upon his existence; he spread the report that he knew a gold mine in Guiana, which would be sufficient to enrich not only the adventurers that should seize it, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. James was not inclined to believe that such a mine could exist anywhere, but on reflecting on the length of Raleigh's confinement, he thought that he had already undergone a sufficient punishment, and released him from the tower, but without granting him a pardon, as he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence as a check upon Raleigh's future behaviour. The alluring prospect of the golden mine soon induced multitudes to engage with him; the king gave them permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, he conferred on Raleigh the chief authority and command over his fellow adventurers.

The Spaniards had taken possession of a great part of Guiana, and formed a settlement on the river Oronoko, where they had built a little town called St. Thomas, and worked there some mines of small value. When Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador

heard, that twelve armed vessels were fitting out for the expedition to Guiana, he carried complaints to the king; Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions, and James assured the ambassador, that if any hostile attempt was formed against the Spanish settlements, Raleigh should pay for his audacity. To that place, however, Raleigh directly bent his course, and remaining himself at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son and a captain Reymis, who was entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards fired on them at their landing, but were repulsed and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, *that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other*; and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired. Reymis and his followers carried on the attack, got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; but did not find any thing of value in it.

Raleigh did not pretend that he had himself seen the mine, but that Reymis, who had formerly discovered it, had given him all the information he had published about it. Yet Reymis, who assured that they were within two hours march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it; and dreading punishment for his behaviour, he retired into his cabin, and put an end to his life. In the mean time, the greatest discontent prevailed among Raleigh's companions, and as they were convinced that he had purposely deceived them, they determined to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. They arrived in the course of the next year, and delivered Raleigh into the king's hands. To satisfy the court of Spain, which raised the loudest com-

plaints against him, James signed a warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but upon the obsolete sentence which had been issued on his former conspiracy.

The amount of the king's revenue as it stood this year, is thus stated ; of crown lands, eight hundred thousand pounds a year ; by customs and new impositions, near one hundred and ninety thousand pounds ; by wards and other various branches of revenue besides purveyance, one hundred and eighty thousand pounds ; the whole amounting to four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The king's ordinary disbursements by the same account are said to exceed this sum, thirty-six thousand pounds. All the extraordinary sums which James had raised by subsidies, loans, sale of lands, sale of the title of baronet, money paid by the states, and by the king of France, benevolences, &c. were in the whole about two million two hundred thousand pounds, of which the sale of lands afforded seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds,

*Ann. 1618, 1619.*

James, in his lofty ideas on the dignity of his rank among the sovereigns, entertained a fixed opinion peculiar to himself, that in marrying the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him ; and a daughter of France or Spain were the princesses he had chiefly in view. His pride was, therefore, much gratified with the offer now made by the Spanish ambassador, of the second daughter of Spain to the prince of Wales ; and that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. The Spanish court, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, en-

tered into negotiations with James, which were so artfully protracted, that every disappointment still redoubled his hopes of success. The transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct.

The states of Bohemia having taken arms against the emperor Matheus, continued their revolt against his successor Ferdinand, and claimed the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, together with the restoration of their ancient laws and constitution. The neighbouring principalities, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Austria, and even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel. Ferdinand II. besides employing the assistance of his subjects, had engaged on his side a powerful alliance of the neighbouring potentates who professed the ancient religion, and above all the Spanish monarchs who considered his own interest to be closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family.

The states of Bohemia, alarmed at this mighty coalition, cast their eyes upon Frederic, the elector palatine, who, besides commanding a considerable force of his own, was son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the united provinces. They hoped that these princes, moved by the connections of blood and by the tie of their common religion, would unite in support of Frederic, and promote his greatness. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they considered as elective, and the young palatine immediately accepted it without consulting either James or Maurice, whose opposition he foresaw, and marched all his forces into Bohemia.

The news of these events no sooner reached England, than the nation expressed an unanimous

ardour to engage in the quarrel. When they heard of catholics carrying on war and persecutions against protestants, they considered neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and of his holy religion. But James remarked principally in this contest a revolt of subjects against their king, which it could never behove him to patronize, as according to his ideas of the rights and dignity of kings, subjects must ever be in the wrong when they stand in opposition to those who have acquired or assumed that majestic title. He accordingly refused to lend any support to his son-in-law; he even denied him the title of king of Bohemia, and forbade him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation. The queen died on the 3d of March 1619, in the 45th year of her age.

*Ann. 1620.*

Meanwhile Ferdinand levied a powerful army, which entered Bohemia; and almost at one time it was known in England, that Frederic, being defeated in the famous battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland; that Spinola, the Spanish general, had invaded the palatinate without meeting any resistance, except from one English regiment of two thousand four hundred men, and from some princes of the union, and had in a little time reduced the greater part of that principality.

This news excited loud murmurs all over England against the king's neutrality and inactive disposition. These noisy censures, however, did not in the least alter James's principles, nor his pacific resolutions; but he flattered himself that his justice and moderation had shone so conspicuously throughout all these transactions, that the contending parties would willingly, from mere respect to his virtue, submit their differences to his equitable

arbitration; and that either by that means or through the intimate connexion he was to form with the king of Spain, by the marriage of the prince of Wales to his daughter, the restitution of the palatinate might be easily obtained. He thought prudent, however, not to avow openly these chimerical expectations; but as none of the measures pointed out to him from all sides, could be pursued without money, he concluded that no circumstance more favourable could occur for obtaining a large and speedy supply. He first tried the expedient of a benevolence, pretending that the urgency of the case did not admit of leisure for any other measure. But the long and frequent reasonings of James about his prerogative, had roused more than any thing else the jealousy of liberty, and the nation had found also, in support of their privileges, many strong reasonings, from which they concluded that these pretended benevolences were real extortions, contrary to law, however authorized by ancient precedents. A parliament was found to be the only resource, and writs were accordingly issued for summoning it.

*Ann. 1621.*

The dutiful and submissive demeanour of the commons in the first sittings of this parliament, seemed as if they were determined to make any sacrifice in order to re-establish a good understanding and amicable correspondence with the king. They would allow no mention to be made of the new customs or impositions, nor of the imprisonment of the members of the former parliament, and they unanimously voted him two subsidies, and that too at the very beginning of the session, which had never happened from the beginning of his reign. They afterwards proceeded, but in a

very temperate manner, to the examination of grievances respecting some abusive patents which had produced many vexations. Their representations on the subject were very graciously received by the king, who seemed even thankful for the information given him, declaring himself ashamed that such abuses, unknowingly to him, had crept into his administration. The patents were immediately repealed, and the offenders punished.

Emboldened by this condescending compliance, the commons addressed the king with respectful representations on more important abuses. The illustrious chancellor Bacon, the honour of his age as of his nation, so universally admired for his wonderful genius, was accused of bribery in the discharge of his office. It appears, that presents were usually received by former chancellors; and it is pretended, that in following this dangerous practice, Bacon never deviated from the integrity of a judge in favour of those persons from whom he received the wages of iniquity. Complaints rose the louder on that account, and at last reached the house of commons, who sent up an impeachment against him to the upper house. The chancellor endeavoured by a general avowal, to escape the confusion of a stricter inquiry; but the lords insisted on a particular confession of all his corruptions, and he acknowledged twenty-eight articles. He was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

In consideration of his great merit, the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of the sentence, and conferred on him a pension of one thousand eight hundred a year.



The commons, indefatigable in their promoting the reform of abuses, carried their researches into many other grievances, which, though of no great importance, could not be but displeasing to the king, whose authority was disputed on every article, while his prerogative seemed at every moment to be invaded. James usually took these symptoms as a warning for his proroguing or dissolving the parliament; he accordingly sent them word that he was determined in a little time to adjourn them till next winter. The commons made an application to the lords, and desired them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment, which they refused. The king, instead of taking no notice of this unsuccessful attempt, was highly incensed at it, and considered it as intended to oppose his own measures; he thanked the peers for their refusal to concur in it, and very imprudently told them, that if it were their desire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not so far comply with the request of the lower house. This unseasonable compliment to the peers created such disgust among the commons, that it could not be dispelled by any measure employed by the king during the recess to render himself popular. He recalled all the patents for monopolies; he redressed the thirty-seven articles of grievance which had been complained of in the house of commons. But he could the less expect to soften their resentment, that he had been so imprudent as to commit to prison one of their members, without any known cause, besides his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as a member of parliament. Besides, that jealousy of honour and religion which prevailed throughout the nation, was raised to the highest degree by the present transactions in Germany, which we ascribed to the king's untimely moderation and erroneous principles.

The first step of the commons upon their assembling was to entreat his majesty, that he would immediately undertake and maintain by force of arms the defence of the palatine, turn his sword against Spain, enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son but with a protestant princess, and that the fines and confiscations to which the catholics were liable by law, should be levied with the utmost severity. These demands, the boldness of which was unprecedented for many years in England, attacked at once all the favourite principles and politics of James, as well as his maxims on the prerogative. As soon as he heard of the intended petition, he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the house for openly debating matters far above their reach and capacity, and he strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of state, and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain; and though he denied that the imprisonment of one of their members had been owing to any offence committed in the house, he plainly told them, that he thought himself fully entitled to punish every misdemeanour in parliament as well during its sitting as after its dissolution, and that he intended thenceforward to chastise any man whose insolence there should give occasion of offence. The commons, far from being terrified at this letter, insisted on their former remonstrances, and maintained, though respectfully, that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government; that an entire freedom of speech in their debates on public business, was their ancient and undoubted right transmitted to them as an inheritance from their ancestors; and that if any member abused of this liberty, it belonged to the house alone, who were witnesses of his offence, to inflict a proper

censure upon him. With a prince so fond of arguing as James was, so vigorous an answer could not pass without a reply. He told the house, that their pretension to inquire into all state affairs without exception, was such a *plenipotence* as none of their ancestors, even during the reign of the weakest princes, had ever pretended to; that in any business which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpose with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it. "And though," added he, we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your ancient undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us, (for the most of them grew from precedents which shows rather a toleration than inheritance,) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative."

The title of the house of commons being thus represented at least as precarious and liable to be forfeited by abuse, they thought proper immediately to oppose pretension to pretension. They framed a protestation, in which they repeated all their former claims, and asserted, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth right and inheritance of the subjects of England."

The king being informed of it, sent immediately for the journals of the commons, and with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. The contest had been carried so far on both sides, that it was no longer possible to

finish any business. The king, therefore, prorogued the parliament, and soon after dissolved it by a proclamation, in which he made an apology to the public for his whole conduct, the most unjustifiable and irretrievable part of which was his throwing open so imprudently the kind of sanctuary where the English constitution lay concealed in a sacred obscurity, the most advantageous to the royal prerogative, which never was more respected than while its limits remained unknown. It became now a general subject of political reasonings and inquiries, a familiar topic of conversation and debates in every class of men.

*Ann. 1622.*

James's continual though fruitless negotiations with all the foreign courts, and his constant readiness to send ambassadors everywhere, were become all over Europe a common topic of pleasantry, and even of farces publicly performed on the stage. In one of them acted at Bruxelles, a courier was introduced, carrying the doleful news that the palatinate would be soon wrested from Austria by the powerful confederates, who were hastening to the relief of the elector. The king of Denmark had agreed to assist him with one hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch with one hundred thousand butter boxes, and the king of England with one hundred thousand ambassadors.—It is true, however, that he no longer expected the restoration of the palatinate from his negotiations, but from his son's marriage with the infanta, for which a dispensation from Rome was only requisite; but as the king of Spain had reserved to himself to procure that dispensation, he had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleasure, or of forwarding the marriage, and at the same time of conceal-

ing entirely his artifices from the court of England.

In order to discover and remove if possible the difficulties which had so much protracted the conclusion of the marriage, that after negotiating five years, it was no more advanced than at the beginning, James dispatched the earl of Bristol as his ambassador to Philip IV. and a secret agent to Rome, and finding that the difference of religion was the principal obstacle, he hoped to remove the objection by softening the severity of the English laws against the catholics. He accordingly issued public orders for discharging popish recusants who were imprisoned; and to reconcile with this step the rigid spirit of his subjects, he endeavoured to persuade them that there was no other means to obtain from foreign princes some indulgence in favour of the distressed protestants.

These concessions immediately produced the most favourable change in the dispositions of the court of Spain, and the earl of Bristol, a minister of great penetration and vigilance, entertained not the least doubt that the palatine's restoration would be the infallible consequence of the marriage, as it was not to be supposed that Philip would bestow his sister with a fortune of six hundred thousand pounds under the prospect of entering next day into a war with England. All measures being therefore agreed on between the parties, nothing was wanting but the dispensation from Rome, which was considered as a mere formality.

*Ann. 1623.*

Buckingham, intoxicated with his power and riches, had carried his arrogance and insolence so far even towards Charles prince of Wales, that a great coldness had taken place between them. But at that

juncture, he was very desirous to ingratiate himself with the prince, and at the same time to overcome the great credit acquired by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation, the success of which was highly extolled by the king, who considered it as an incontrovertible proof of the great wisdom and sagacity he had discovered in his preference for pacific measures. The more James was pleased with his ambassador's conduct at Madrid, and praised his abilities, the more violent grew Buckingham's envy and enmity against the earl. After having revolved in his mind the means of gratifying his resentment without exposing himself; he found no other than that of acting the principal part in forwarding the prince's marriage, to appropriate to himself all the merit of it in case of success, or to accuse Bristol of having mistaken the dispositions of the Spanish court, and deceived the king, if his scheme happened to miscarry. As he knew how to manage the weak character of Charles, who was deeply in love with the infanta without knowing her; he easily persuaded him that he should travel in disguise into Spain, to visit the object of his affections; that the gallantry of his journey to Madrid would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance, and immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and valorous knight.

The prince agreed to make application to the king for his approbation, and by choosing the moment of his most jovial humour, he obtained his consent to this adventurous expedition; but no sooner was James alone than he viewed the matter very differently; reflection suggested to him all the difficulties and dangers which could occur, and determined him to retract his approbation. The prince received this disappointment with sorrowful submission and silent tears. Far from imitating

Charles's example, Buckingham, who was to accompany him in the intended journey, and act the part of the squire, assumed towards the king the imperious scolding tone which he had ever experienced to be prevalent over his too easy master. James, assailed both by the warm entreaties of his son, and by the boisterous reproaches and threats of his insolent favourite, had again the weakness to consent to their journey. It was agreed, that sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed chamber, should alone accompany them; and as the former happened to be in the anti-chamber, he was immediately called in by the king's orders; who spoke to him in these words, "Cottington, here is Baby Charles and Stenny (these infantile appellations he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham) who have a great mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the infants, they will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Cottington did not hesitate to declare candidly the objections which occurred to him. The king threw himself upon his bed, and cried "*I told you this before.*" He afterwards fell into new lamentations, complaining that he was undone and should lose *Baby Charles*.

Charles showed his displeasure by his countenance, Buckingham, by the most violent passion against Cottington, who, said he, being asked only of the manner of travelling, had the presumption to give his advice upon matters of state and against his master, which he should repent as long as he lived. A thousand other reproaches he added, which put the poor king into a new agony in behalf of a servant, who, he foresaw, would suffer for answering him honestly. Upon which he said with some emotion; "nay, by God, Stenny, you are

much to blame for using him so ; he answered me directly to the question which I asked him, and very honestly and wisely ; and yet, you know, he said no more than I told you before he was called in." However, after all this passion on both sides, James renewed his consent, and proper directions were given for the journey.

These circumstances transcribed from lord Clarendon, seem to have been related to him by Cottington, and to convey in their minuteness a most exact idea of the character of the two princes and of the king's favourite.

The prince of Wales and Buckingham travelled through France in disguise without being discovered, though they ventured into a court ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. He arrived at Madrid in eleven days after his departure from London, and was introduced into the palace with the same honours, pomp, and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain on their coronation. The council received public orders to obey him as the king himself. The infanta, however, was never shown to her lover but in public, according to the Spanish ideas of decency. All the conditions of the treaty were soon agreed on without any material difficulty. But the pope hearing of the prince's arrival at Madrid, added some new clauses to the dispensation, which rendered it necessary to transmit the additional articles to London to be ratified by the king. In the interval, Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII. who succeeded him before its being sent to Philip, pretended, that it should be renewed by himself, which he delayed to do in hopes, that, during the prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be contrived to effect his conversion.



The king of England became impatient as well as the prince, who, on the first hint, obtained permission to return. The same honours which had attended his reception graced his departure, and on the spot where the king of Spain and the prince of Wales took leave of each other, a pillar was erected as a monument of their mutual friendship. The prince having sworn the observance of the treaty, embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero.

The reserve, modesty, and meekness of Charles's character joined to his youth and advantageous figure, had impressed the most favourable ideas of him, and endeared him to the whole court of Madrid; but Buckingham was no less generally hated and despised for his sallies of passion, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant impetuous temper, which he never could nor cared to disguise, and his indecent freedom with the prince. The Spaniards could not conceive how such a youth dared intrude into a negotiation brought to its conclusion by such accomplished a minister as Bristol, and how he could have the effrontery of assuming to himself all the merit of it, while it was generally known that he had had the insolence of declaring to the duke of Olivarez, their prime minister, "*that he must not consider him as his friend, but ever expect from him all possible opposition and enmity,*" an insult much better calculated for the rupture of a treaty than for its conclusion; and, indeed, Buckingham, sensible how odious he was to the Spanish nation, had already resolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. His domineering character had acquired so complete an ascendant over the gentle and yielding temper of Charles, that before they left Madrid, the prince was determined to break off the treaty with Spain. On their arrival at London, they assumed the whole direction of the negotiation,

and it was their business to find plausible pretences for their intended breach of treaty, to the great disappointment of James, who attached so much glory to that important result of his wisdom and moderation.

The palatinate being now in the hands of the emperor and the duke of Bavaria, it was no longer in the king of Spain's power to restore it by a single stroke of his pen; but James, depending on the sincerity of the court of Madrid, still considered that restoration as a necessary, though more or less remote consequence of the intended alliance; therefore Bristol had been forbidden to insist on it as a preliminary article of the marriage treaty. Buckingham did not hesitate to reverse the whole system of the negotiation. Bristol received positive orders not to deliver the proxy which had been left in his hands, nor to finish the marriage till securities were given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Philip, who was acquainted with the disgust received by Buckingham, expected no less from a man of such a character. Determined, however, to throw the whole blame of the rupture on the English, he delivered to the earl of Bristol a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the palatinate either by persuasion or by any other means in his power. To refuse such a generous concession still more satisfactory than that which had been asked for, was evidently equivalent to a formal declaration that the king did not consider the most solemn promises made by Philip as a sufficient security, an offence as odious as undeserved, or rather a shameful act of insincerity, of which a rupture between Spain and England must be the necessary consequence. Buckingham was well aware of it; but the example of all the royal minions, against whom history has called forth posterity's indignation and

disgust, had taught him never to prefer to the gratification of his own passions the honour or the interests of his master; Philip's promises were accordingly rejected as insufficient. Philip immediately ordered preparations for war, to be made throughout all his dominions, and the infant to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome.

*Ann. 1624, 1625.*

The benevolence which had been exacted for recovering the palatinate having produced more discontent than money, the king was obliged to assemble a parliament, as, without its assistance, he had no means of carrying into execution the new measures which the circumstances required; and he expected that the Spanish alliance which had given so much umbrage to the commons, being now abandoned, they would be better satisfied with his administration and more compliant to his demands. In his speech to the houses, which was neither so long nor quite so pedantic as usual, he graciously condescended to ask the advice of parliament, which he had before rejected with regard to the important affair of his son's marriage; and though he had agreed in the Spanish treaty to grant the catholics the liberty of exercising their worship in private houses, he went so far as even to affirm with the most solemn oath, that he never had entertained any thoughts of granting to them a toleration, nor consented to it by any treaty. He expatiated on his continual cares and wishes for obtaining and keeping the love of his people, in which, he pretended to have succeeded so completely, that he really believed that no sovereign had ever been more beloved by his subjects. Buckingham, by his

majesty's orders, delivered to a committee of both houses, a long account of the transactions with Spain, which, by the suppression of some facts, and the false colouring of many others, was calculated to throw on the Spanish court all the reproach of artifice and insincerity. But the most inexcusable part in that scene of falsehood, was acted by the prince of Wales, who attested to the committee the truth of Buckingham's narrative, which he knew perfectly to be a series of flagrant impostures. The king himself was no less blameable for telling the parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them, though he could not but have the strongest suspicions against his favourite's veracity; unfortunate deluded princes, who, forgetting that truth must ever find in the mouth of kings its purest and safest repository, degraded themselves so far as to countenance the impostures of the most impudent liar, and in order to screen him from infamy, became the tools of his passions!

Buckingham's narrative contained so many important contradictions, as to convince all reasonable men of its falsehood; but its consequences were so congenial with the prejudices of the parliament, that it was immediately adopted. They unanimously advised the king to break off all his treaties with Spain. The people, delighted with the opportunity so long wished for of going to war with the papists, displayed their joy by public bonfires, and by insults on the Spanish ministers. Buckingham was so intoxicated with the popularity he had so shamefully acquired, that he violated all duty towards his too indulgent master, and entered into cabals with the puritanical members, the constant antagonists of the royal authority. He even encouraged schemes for abolishing the bishops, and

selling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expences of a war against Spain.

James, who had carried farther than any other prince, the ambition of being styled the *Pacific Monarch*, bitterly lamented the fatal necessity where he found himself of exchanging the blessings of peace for the inevitable calamities of war. He represented the immense and continued expence that would attend it, and demanded a vote of supplies adequate to his present wants. In order to remove all suspicion, he departed from his wonted jealousy respecting his prerogative, and voluntarily offered that the money voted should be paid to a committee of parliament, and should be issued by them without being intrusted to his management.

The commons willingly accepted of this unprecedented concession, and voted only three subsidies and three fifteenths. They also took advantage of the present favourable dispositions of the king, in order to pass the bill against monopolies, which condemned all of them as contrary to law and to the liberties of the people. It was naturally inferred from it, that any English subject was intitled to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow subjects, and that no prerogative of the king, no authority whatsoever but that of the laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom, an important principle, which, through many contests successively ripened in all its consequences, is become one of the principal basis of the only government really free existing in Europe.

The house of commons also corroborated in this session their power of impeachment against the ministers, and exercised it against the earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer, accused of having accepted presents for granting patents. The king, in a

speech to the parliament, apologized for Middlesex, and prophesied to the prince of Wales and to Buckingham, who was the secret instigator of the impeachment, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary prosecutions. The commons, however, maintained their charge, and Middlesex, found guilty by the peers, was condemned to a fine of fifty thousand pounds for the king's use, and to the other penalties inflicted upon Bacon.

The king was still more displeased by an address of the commons, requesting the severe execution of the laws against the catholics. He answered them graciously, but did not acquiesce in their demand, which he represented to be as improper as impolitic; and soon after, he prorogued the parliament.

James, basely betrayed by his favourite, who, by his combination with the parliament, had compelled him to embrace the very measures to which he had ever been the most averse, began to estrange himself from him; his timidity, however, which he habitually mistook for prudence, induced him to dissemble his disgust, and to wait for the arrival of the earl of Bristol, by whose assistance he hoped to extricate himself from his present difficulties. But Buckingham was sensible of the great importance it was for him to keep at a distance, both from the king and the parliament, a man against whom he had declared himself an open enemy, and who being informed better than any body else of the transactions that had taken place in Spain during the prince's residence at Madrid, would not fail to declare, and could easily prove the complete falsehood of the narrative delivered to the committee of the two houses about it; he applied, therefore, to the king, whose weakness was now become incurable, and succeeded so far in frightening him about the consequences of Bristol's de-

clarations, that a warrant was immediately issued for sending that nobleman to the tower upon his arrival in England; and though he was soon released from confinement, he received at the same time an order from the king, enjoining him to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in parliament. He protested his innocence, craving permission to lay his whole conduct before his majesty, which he could not obtain. Buckingham, and at his instigation the prince, declared that they would be reconciled to Bristol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct, but the spirited nobleman, jealous above all of his honour, scornfully rejected a proposal so incompatible with it.

All James's political measures were combined with his system of enmity to the house of Austria, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the palatinate. The United Provinces were governed at this time by Maurice, prince of Orange, as renowned for his great capacity in the art of war, as desirous of new occasions of signaling his military talents. A rupture between England and Spain afforded him a prospect of receiving from the former as powerful an assistance as would enable him to take the field, and his wishes were soon gratified by the arrival of an army of six thousand men, which James sent over to Holland, under the command of four young noblemen, Essex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause. There was also to be expected that the confederates would be soon reinforced by the accession of France, which was the more interested to retake the palatinate from the house of Austria, that the French dominions were surrounded on all sides by the possessions of that ambitious family, and might be invaded by superior forces from any quarter. These views had not escaped cardinal Richelieu, who

now began to acquire a great influence in the councils of Lewis XIII. ; but he was of opinion that previous to engaging in a war against Austria, the turbulence of the protestants, the ever reviving cause of internal disturbances in France, should be completely subdued. In the mean time all imaginable encouragement was given to a proposed alliance with England by the marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Henrietta, a daughter of the late Henry IV. ; as in spite of the antipathy of the English against all alliance with catholics, James persevered in the opinion, that his son would be degraded by marrying a princess of less than royal extraction ; and the French king demanding, for the honour of his crown, the same terms agreed on for Charles's marriage with the infanta, James readily granted them.

During the negociation with France an English army of twelve thousand men and two hundred horse was levied by a general press throughout the kingdom, and destined to re-conquer the palatinate under the command of count Mansfeld. The French ministry had promised not only a free passage through France to the English troops, but that a powerful reinforcement should join them on their march to the palatinate ; however, when the army embarked at Dover arrived off Calais, no orders were yet arrived for their admission. After waiting in vain during some time they sailed towards Zealand, where no proper measures had been concerted for their disembarkation, and some anxiety about the scarcity of provisions prevented their being admitted. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper attacked the English army ; half the troops died while on board ; the other half, weakened by sickness, was unable to march into the palatinate, and returned to England.

Such was the disastrous end of the only military



expedition undertaken during the reign of James. The fondest of his wishes had ever been to live and die in peace, and the only, or at least the chief object of his ambition, that of obtaining the title of *the Pacific Monarch*; he certainly deserved it better than any other prince, as he parted with life as soon as he could no longer decline engaging in war. He did not survive three months after the return of his army from Zealand, and died on the 27th of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign over England. He was king of Scotland from his earliest infancy.

James was certainly not destitute of virtues, nay he had many which in private life would have entitled him to general esteem, but which, through his weakness and vanity, the two prominent features of his character, proved on the throne, not only useless but even pernicious, both to him and still more to his successor. Weakness, indeed, converted his disposition to friendship into a boyish fondness, which soon reduced him to the ignoble condition of being completely under the sway of the most despicable minions, whom he overloaded with riches, titles, and dignities, though knowing how little they deserved it, but he considered at the same time his persevering in his affection for them, as a meritorious instance of constancy, which could not but raise his character in the opinion of his friends, and increase their number. Weakness, likewise, turned his generosity into profusion, his pacific disposition into pusillanimity, his wisdom and prudence into cunning and even flagrant duplicity, so far as to induce him to affirm upon oath, contrary to his treaty with Spain, that he had never any thoughts of granting a toleration to the catholics, James's vanity was no less pernicious, as the high opinion he entertained of his profound wisdom and learning, of his eloquence and strength of reasoning, be-

sides making of him a pedant king, a most ridiculous character on the throne, encouraged him to engage in controversies of the most delicate and dangerous nature on his prerogative or on the privileges of the people, and to introduce, on every occasion, long, tedious, ready-made speeches, crammed with Latin common place quotations, much more to the credit of the retentive power of his memory than to the soundness of his judgment. As his exaggerated principles and ideas in favour of the prerogative, and against the privileges of the people, could not withstand the criterion of a regular argumentation, these frequent unwary debates, which rendered him more and more unpopular, generally ended by restraining considerably the prerogative, and enlarging the privileges in the same proportion. Such were the fatal consequences of James's mistaken vanity. He thought that a profound philosopher and a great orator, on the throne, could not fail to prove a great king, and being thoroughly convinced that he was the former, he naturally concluded that he was the latter, and that his famous speeches and reasonings could not leave the least doubt about it. Learning is certainly a useful and even a necessary accomplishment for a king; but any formal display of it cannot be but injurious to his dignity, as it gives an occasion to his subjects to discover, that many of them are equal, or even superior, to him in that respect. Had a king the talents of a Cicero, he should carefully abstain from displaying them, not to expose them to be compared and found inferior to those of a Demosthenes. The only eloquence appropriated to speeches from the throne, proclamations, or preambles of laws, consists in their simplicity, clearness, and laconism. In short, princes should never forget that they have no greater interest than that of preserving, by all means in their power, that kind of magic illusion which re-

presents them as supernatural beings. That precious spell vanishes as soon as, coming down from the heights of their situation, they condescend to mix in the common arena, unless they can shew by their actions that they are no less superior by their qualifications than by their rank to the rest of mankind, which is next to impossible.

After these just though severe remarks on James's faults, it must also be acknowledged that, during his reign, no taxes were levied, no wars waged, no bribery or profusion required at elections, and that underso benign and humane a prince, England would have reached the summit of human happiness, could the English be completely happy, while they saw at a stand that national honour and pre-eminence which the brilliant reign of Elizabeth had accustomed them to see growing higher and higher every year.

James left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine.

The numbers of the house of lords in the first parliament of this reign were seventy-eight temporal peers. They were ninety-seven in the first parliament of the next reign. Consequently, James created nineteen new peerages above those that expired.

The house of commons, at the same period, consisted of four hundred and sixty-seven members and of four hundred and ninety-four in the first parliament of Charles ; and as in the interval four boroughs only had revived their charters, it may be inferred that James created ten new boroughs.

The expences of the great, as far as the end of James's reign, consisted in pomp and show, and a numerous retinue, rather than convenience and social enjoyments. The earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by five hundred persons ; the earl of Hertford, in that to Brussels, carried three hundred gentlemen along with him.

Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were then subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The fury of duels, a remnant of the romantic chivalry, prevailed more than at any time before or since.

The first sedan chair seen in England was used during this reign, by the duke of Buckingham, to the great indignation of the people, who exclaimed that he employed his fellow creatures to do the service of beasts.

The country life now prevailing in England more than in any other country of Europe, was still more generally embraced at that time by all the gentry, and even encouraged by the king, who was wont to tell them, "Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which shew like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ships in a river, which look like great things."

Interest, during this reign, was at ten per cent. till 1624, when it was reduced to eight; an indication of the small profits and progress of commerce.

The passage to the East Indies had been opened to the English during the preceding reign; but the trade to that part of the world was not entirely settled till James's reign, when the East India Company received a new patent, enlarged their stock to one million five hundred thousand pounds, and fitted out several ships on these adventures.

The exports of England, from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613, are computed at two millions four hundred and eighty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-five pounds, and the imports at two millions one hundred and forty-one thousand one hundred and fifty-one pounds; so that the balance in favour of England was three hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds.

But in 1622, the exports were two millions three hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-six pounds, and the imports two millions six hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and fifteen pounds; which makes a balance of two hundred and ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds against England.

What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the English colonies established in America, on the noblest and quite unprecedented footing.

Among the illustrious literary men who flourished during James's reign, the most conspicuous of all was undoubtedly lord Bacon. The wonderful extent of his learning, and the variety of his talents, either as a public orator or a writer, as a man of business or a man of wit, as a statesman or a philosopher, have rendered him the glory of his country, and even of his age.

Another writer, perhaps still more extraordinary, was the famous Shakspeare, who, born in a rude age, in a low class, and having received no education, no instruction whatsoever, either from books or from the world, sprang out all at once in the dramatic career, untrod before him, at least by modern authors, and soon ran over it with the most gigantic strides, and with an equal success both in tragedy and in comedy. As he was totally ignorant of all theatrical rules, and could not guess at them; he was really the creator of the dramatic art, such as he practised it; therefore the irregularities which frequently occur in his performances, cannot be reproached to him with more justice than his not being acquainted with the rules of Aristotle, whose very name was probably unknown to him. His deficiency in point of taste, elegance, harmony, and correctness, are rather the faults of his age; he had them in common with all the writers of his time,

and they have not impaired in the least the admiration bestowed by his countrymen upon the truly natural characters, the animated and passionate scenes, which are found in almost all his pieces, and upon the nervous and picturesque expressions and descriptions which abound in him. Had he lived and written fifty years later, when the French stage gloried with the master-pieces of Corneille and Racine, it is more than probable that these worthy rivals, emulating one another, would have still nearer approached the perfection of the dramatic art; and I shall not presume to decide which of them would have been the foremost.

**END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.**

# ERRATA.

Page 32 line 35.	<i>for disease read decess</i>
135	2. <i>for after a more than a most read after the most</i>
156	8. <i>for 1557 read 1547</i>
298	26. <i>dele and</i>
400	7. <i>for into read in</i>
422	3. <i>dele as</i>
426	9. <i>for a more violent hatred read a hatred more violent</i>
427	16. <i>for a great read great</i>
429	11. <i>for unbroken read unshaken</i>
—	16. <i>for attention upon read recollection of</i>
—	22. <i>for on reflecting read reflecting</i>
444	21. <i>for such read so</i>

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- Henry IV.* Crowned, 1399. Order of the Bath instituted—and Westminster Abbey and the Hall rebuilt and enlarged by him, 1399. Conspiracy against him, 1400. Truce between him and France, 1401. Insurrection in Wales, 1401. Takes Edinburgh, 1402. Conspiracy against him by the Archbishop of York, and the Earls of Nottingham and Northumberland, 1405. Takes James, son of Robert of Scotland, prisoner, 1405. House of Commons force him to comply with its request, 1411. Attempts to establish the Salic Law, 1413. His Character. See *Lancaster*
- Henry V.* Succeeds his Father, 1413. Conspiracy against him by Lord Cobham and Oldcastle, 1414. Sends Ambassadors to France, and demands Catherine in marriage, 1415. Conspiracy by the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey; all executed, 1416. Embarks for France with a large army, defeats the French at Agincourt, 1416. Concludes a Truce for two years, 1417. Invades Normandy, and subdues it, 1418. Makes peace with Isabella and the Duke of Burgundy, 1418. Marries the Princess Catherine, 1420. Joins France to England, and is declared Heir to the Monarchy, 1420. Arrives in England, and levies a large army, 1422. His Character.
- Henry VI.* Succeeds his Father, 1422. Parliament appoints the Duke of Bedford Protector to the Kingdom during his minority, 1422. Bishop of Canterbury made his Tutor, 1422. Henry crowned in France, 1430. Marries Margaret of Anjou, 1452. Richard, Duke of York, appointed Protector, 1454—and takes King Henry prisoner, 1455. Battle of Northampton—the Roy-

alists defeated, and the King taken prisoner and deposed, 1460. Sent to the Tower by Edward IV. 1462. Proclaimed King by Clarence, 1470. Imprisoned again by Edward, 1471—and died in the Tower, 1471. His Character

*Henry VII.* Crowned, 1485. Marries Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. 1486. Levies a Benevolence, 1491. Invades France, and concludes a Treaty, 1492. Defeats the Cornish Insurgents, 1497. Fines the Earl of Oxford, 1505. Puts Windham and Tyrrel to death, 1506. Marries his Daughter to Philip of Castile, 1506. His Character

*Henry VIII.* Crowned, 1509. Marries Catherine of Spain, 1509. Sends an Army into France, 1512. Goes himself, defeats the French at Guinegate, and returns to England, 1513. Makes Peace with France, 1514. War with Scotland, 1515. War with France, 1516. Peace with France, 1519. Is visited by the Emperor Charles V. 1520. Meets Francis of France near Ardres, and Charles at Gravelines, 1520. Writes against Luther, for which he receives the title of Defender of the Faith, 1521. Declares War against France, 1522. Makes Peace, 1527. Declares War against Charles, 1528. Cited, with his Queen, before the Pope's Legates, 1529. Meets Francis at Boulogne, 1532. Privately marries Ann Boleyn, 1532. Divorces Catherine, and publicly marries Ann Boleyn, 1533. Puts her to death, and marries Jane Seymour, 1536. Quells two rebellions in 1536—and another in 1537. Jane Seymour dies in childbirth—Dissolves the Monasteries, 1539. Marries Ann of Cleves, 1540. Divorces her, and marries Catherine Howard, 1540. Puts her to death, 1542. Invades Scotland, 1542. Publishes his Primer, and marries Catherine Parr, 1543. Invades Scotland and France, 1544. Makes Peace with both, 1546. Puts the Earl of Surry to death, 1547. His Family and Character

*Henry III.* of France, assassinated, 1589

*Henry IV.* of France, King of Navarre, assumed the Crown, and gained a Victory by means of Queen Elizabeth, 1590

*Henry*, of Scotland, Son of James I. created Prince of Wales, 1612

*Heptarchy* formed, p 41

*Hertford*, Duke of, Son of John of Gaunt, banished for four years, 1398. Made Duke of Lancaster, 1399. Returns, and lands in Yorkshire, and puts some of Richard II.'s Ministers to death, 1399

*Hertford*, Earl of, made Duke of Somerset, 1547. See *Somerset*

*Hesus*, p 10

*Hexxus*, p 10

*Holland*, John, Earl of, 1296

*Honorius*, Emperor of Rome, p 25. 26

*Horsa* slain, p 36

*Howard*, Catherine, marries Henry VIII. 1540. Executed, 1542

*Hubba*, p 74. 78

- Jacqueline*, Countess of Hainault and Holland, marries the Duke of Gloucester, 1424
- James*, Son of Robert III. of Scotland, taken prisoner to London, 1411. Ransomed by the Regent of Scotland for 40,000l.—Murdered by his kinsman, the Earl of Athol, 1437
- James*, Prince, born, 1566. Crowned James VII. of Scotland, 1567. Imprisoned, 1583. Marries the Princess of Denmark, 1589. Succeeds to the Crown by the Title of
- James I.* 1603. A Conspiracy against him, 1603. Peace with Spain, 1604. Gunpowder Plot, 1604. Discovered by Lord Monteagle—Conspirators taken and executed, 1605. Elizabeth, his Daughter, marries the Elector Palatine, 1613. Goes into Scotland, 1617. His Queen dies, 1619. War with Spain, 1624. Sends an Army to Holland, 1625. His Character
- James's*, St. Palace of, built, 1530
- Ida*, Saxon Prince, p 39
- Jerusalem* taken, 1099
- Jews*, Massacre of, 1159, 1262, 1275
- Innocent III.* Pope, orders Philip to make Peace with John, 1203. Sends John a strange Letter, 1207. Lays England under an Interdict, 1208. Excommunicates John, 1209. Issues a third sentence, to absolve John's subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, 1212. Gives England to France, 1212. Receives it himself of John. 1213. Endeavours to reconcile the Knight Barons, 1215
- Innocent IV.* Pope, Impositions of, 1254. Offers the kingdom of Sicily to Henry III. 1255
- Innocent VIII.* Pope, favours Henry VII.'s title, 1486
- Jeffred*, Abbot of Croyland, 1106
- John*, Prince, rebels against his Father, 1188. Taken into favour by Richard I. and marries Avesa, 1189. Drawn from his Allegiance to Richard by Philip of France, 1192. Arrives in London, and claims the Throne, but rejected, 1193. His Estates in England confiscated, 1194. Leaves Philip, and is pardoned by Richard I. 1195. Named Heir to his Brother, and crowned 1199. Divorced from Avisa, and married to Isabella, the betrothed Wife of Comte de la Marche, 1200. Murders Prince Arthur, 1203. Invades Normandy, is driven back, and makes a Truce with France, 1206. Quarrels with the Pope, 1207, 1208. Is excommunicated, 1209. Has a conference with Langton, 1210. Acknowledges him as Primate, 1212. Gives up England and Ireland to the Pope, 1212. Carries War into Philip's dominion, but is obliged to return, 1214. Signs Magna Charta, 1215. Repeals it, 1215. Dies through affliction, 1216.
- John*, King of France, taken prisoner, and carried to London, 1356. Recovers his liberty, and returns to France, 1360. Comes back to London, 1364—And dies there, 1365.
- Ireland*, State of, 1172

- Isabella*, Widow of King John, marries Comte de la Marche, 1217. Sends her Children over to King Henry III. 1245
- Isabella*, Princess of France, married to Edward II. 1308. Goes over to Paris, and returns to England with an Army against her Husband, 1324. Imprisoned for Life, 1331
- Isabella*, Queen of Bavaria, and the Duke of Burgundy, conquer many Towns in Normandy and Burgundy, and put many of the Nobility to death, 1417
- Judith*, p 72
- Julius II.* Pope, 1510
- Jury*, Trial by, p 168
- Justices of the Peace* first appointed, 1080
- Kenneth*, King of Scotland, p 70
- Kenric*. See *Cerdic*
- Kent*, Holy Maid of, 1534
- Kirkman*, defeats the English, 1558
- Kirkpatrick*, Sir Thomas, kills Cumming, 1306
- Kildair*, Earl of, 1486
- Knolles*, Sir Robert, defeated by Duguesclin, 1373
- Lacey*, Richard de, Governor of Dublin, 1172
- Lancaster*, Earl of, Chief of the Confederate Nobles, 1308. Forces Edward II. to accede to his terms, 1308—And again in 1311. Orders Gavaston to be executed, 1312. Placed at the Head of Government, 1315. Executed, 1322
- Lancaster*, Earl of, made Duke 1337. Induces Edward III. to make peace with France, 1360. Ill success of, 1373. Placed on the Throne by the name of Henry IV. 1399, which causes the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster. See Hen. IV.
- Lanfranc*, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1073. Crowns William II. 1087
- Langton*, Cardinal, appointed by Pope Innocent III. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1207. Acknowledged as such by King John, 1213. Engages the Barons in a Conspiracy against John, 1215
- Latimer*, Bishop of Worcester, thrown into prison, 1553. Burnt, 1554
- Latin*, Purity of, revived in Henry VII.'s reign
- Law*, Feudal, Observations on, 1087
- Laws*, Written, Anglo-Saxons had none, p 62
- Leicester*, Earl of, assists Queen Isabella, 1326. Takes the title of Earl of Lancaster, and is appointed Guardian to Edward III. 1327
- Leicester*, Dudley, Earl of, proposed by Elizabeth to Mary of Scotland, 1564. Marries Lady Essex, 1580. Conduct of, in Holland, 1586.
- Leo X.* Pope, sells Indulgences, 1517
- Leolf*, a Robber, kills Edmund, p 87
- Leopold*, Duke of Austria, imprisons Richard I. 1192
- Lewis*, le Gros, King of France, 1110, 1119

- Lewis*, the Younger, King of France, 1135, 1147. Makes a Pilgrimage to the Tomb of Becket, 1179. Makes a second Crusade, 1187
- Lewis VIII.* Son of Philip of France, placed at the head of the Confederate Barons, 1216. Deserted by them, and defeated, 1217. Invades Poitiers, but is impeded by the English forces, 1226
- Lewis IX.* King of France, endeavours to reconcile Henry III.'s to his Barons, 1264
- Lewis V.* Emperor of Germany, acknowledges Edward III. claims, 1338
- Lewis XII.* King of France, attacked by Henry of England, the Pope, the Emperor, and King of Spain, 1513. Marries, 1514
- Lowellin*, Prince of Wales, invades England, 1262. Surrenders at discretion to Edward, 1282. Defeated and slain, 1283
- Liturgy* composed, 1549
- Lollius Urbicus*, Roman General, p 22
- London*, Tower of, built, 1080. Charter granted to, by Henry I. 1100
- Longchamp*, Bishop of Ely, Vide *Hugh*, Bishop of Durham
- Longueville*, Duke of, 1514
- Lovel*, Lord, Insurrection of, 1486. Goes with Lord Lincoln to Ireland, 1487. Defeated. 1487
- Lucullus*. Vide *Sallustius*
- Lucy*, Richard de, left by Henry Guardian of England, defeats the rebel Earl of Lancaster
- Luidhart*, French Bishop, p 41
- Lusignan*, Gui de, made King of Cyprus, 1191
- Luther*, Martin, preaches against Indulgences, 1519
- Macbeth*, King of Scotland, p 123
- Magnus*, King of Norway, 1098
- Magna Charta*, Particulars of, p 241, 245. Renewed and confirmed at Oxford, 1222. Confirmed with awful solemnity, 1257
- Mabomet*, Flight of, p 64
- Maine*, Inhabitants of, rebel, 1073
- Mainfroi*, usurps the Throne of Sicily, 1255
- Malcolm*, King of Scotland, p 88
- Malcolm II.* King of Scotland, p 191
- Malcolm*, King of Scotland, 1068. Slain at Alawick, 1092
- Mallet*, Governor of York, slain, 1069
- Mandubratius*, British Prince, p 14
- Mantes*, taken, 1086
- Mar*, Earl of, made Regent of Scotland, 1571
- Margaret*, Queen, defeats Warwick at St. Albans, 1461. Defeated by Lord Montague, 1462. Escapes to Flanders, 1462. Lands at Weymouth, 1471. Thrown into the Tower, 1471. Ransomed for 50,000 crowns, by Lewis XI. 1472



- Mary*, Princess, born, 1516. Ascends the Throne, 1553. Quells three Insurrections, 1554. Marries Philip, 1554. Begins her Persecutions, 1555. Loses Calais, 1557. Character of, 1558
- Mary Stuart*, married to the Dauphin of France, 1558. Attempts to oppress the Scots Protestants, 1559. But fails, 1560. Marries Lord Darnley, 1565. Delivered of Prince James, 1566. Marries Lord Bothwell, 1567. Imprisoned by her Subjects, and resigns the Crown, 1567. Is released, but obliged to fly to England, and placed in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, 1568. Taken from him and intrusted to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, 1584. Imprisoned in Fotheringay Castle, 1586. Tried, and found guilty of Treason, 1586. Executed, 1587. Character of, 1587
- Matilda*, Wife of William the Conqueror, 1076
- Matilda*, Daughter of Henry I. Widow of the Emperor Henry V. marries Geoffrey Plantagenet, 1130. Lands in England, 1140. Takes Stephen prisoner, 1140. Crowned Queen of England, 1141. Deposed, and retires to Normandy, 1147
- Maximilian*, Emp. of Germany, enlists in Henry VIII.'s army, 1513
- Maximus*, a Usurper, p 25
- Melmas*, King of Somersetshire, p 38
- Mekvil*, Sir James, sent to London by Mary Queen of Scots, 1564
- Mona*, now Anglesia, p 16
- Montague*, created Marquis, 1469. George, his Son, created Duke of Bedford, 1469. Killed in battle, 1471
- Montford*, Simon de, Earl of Leicester, Conspiracy of, 1258. Chosen head of the Supreme Council, 1258. Rebels openly against the King, 1262. Causes the King to submit, 1262. Obligated to raise the Siege of Rochester, but takes Henry and his Brother Richard prisoners, 1264. Gets Prince Edward into his possession, and invests himself with the supreme authority, 1264. Summonses a Parliament, 1265. Slain, 1267
- Montiel*, Sir John, 1315
- Montravers*. See *Gournay*
- Monniſfort*, Count of, seizes Britany, 1341. Taken prisoner, and sent to Paris, 1341
- Mountfort*, Jane, of Flanders, Countess of, defends Britany against the French, 1342. Her gallant behaviour, 1342. Takes Charles de Blois prisoner, 1346
- Morcar*. See *Edwin*
- Morcar*, King of Scotland, p 88
- Morcar*, Governor of Northumberland, p 110
- Mordred*, p 39
- More*, Sir Thomas, made Speaker of the House of Commons, 1525. Chancellor, 1529. Resigns, 1532. Attainted of Misprision of Treason, and executed, 1535.
- Mortimer*, Roger, Favourite of Queen Isabella, 1324. Sends orders to murder Edward II. 1327. Puts the Earl of Kent to death, and is hanged, 1330

- Morton*, Earl of, Regent of Scotland, executed, 1583  
*Mowbray*, Robert, Earl of Northumberland, 1093  
*Murray*, Earl of, and Lord Douglas, command the Scotch, and invades England, 1327. Guardian of David Bruce, 1332  
*Murray*, Earl of, is appointed Regent of Scotland, 1567. Defeated by the King's troops, 1568. Justifies his conduct before Elizabeth, 1568. Assassinated, 1570  
*Musselburg*, or *Penkey*, Battle of, 1547
- Norfolk*, Duke of, banished for life, 1398  
*Norfolk*, Duke of, presides on the Trial of his Niece, 1536. Quells a Rebellion, 1536—And another in 1537. Prime Minister, 1540. Fails in his attempt to ruin Cranmer, 1544. Imprisoned, and narrowly escapes execution, 1547. Released, 1553. Arrested and sent to the Tower, 1569. Released, 1571—and executed, 1572  
*Normandy*, invaded by the King of France, Dukes of Britany, Alencon and Count Dunois, 1449  
*Normans*, Conspiracy against the, 1067  
*Nottingham*, Earl of, entered into a Conspiracy against Henry IV. taken and executed, 1405  
*Northumberland*, fled into Scotland, and was slain in Yorkshire, 1405  
*Northumberland*, Duke of, murdered, 1488  
*Northumberland*, Duke of, arrests Somerset, 1551. Deprives Tostal of the Bishopric of Durham. 1553. Persuades Edward VI. to settle the Crown on Lady Jane Gray, 1553. Imprisoned, tried, and executed, 1553
- Octa*, Saxon Chief, p 37  
*Odo*, Archbishop of Canterbury, cruel conduct of, p 89  
*Odo*, Bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitzosborne, made Regents of England, 1067. Attempts to buy the Papacy, and arrested, 1070. Conspires against William Rufus, 1088  
*Offa*, King of Mercia, p 46  
*Olave*, King of Norway, p 96  
*Olaus*, King of Norway, p 101  
*Ordsal*, Trial by, abolished, 1261  
*Orleans*, Duke of, assassinated by the Duke of Burgundy, 1419  
*Orleans*, Maid of, Joan d'Arc, heads the French army, and defeats the English at several places, 1428. Taken prisoner, 1431. Burnt as a Witch at Rouen, 1431  
*Orleans*, Siege of, lasted ten days, 1428  
*Orleans*, Duke of, released from prison by the English, 1441  
*Ormesby*, 1299  
*Orric*, Prince of Britany, 1172  
*Osbert*, Northumbrian Prince, p 74  
*Oxford*, founded, or re-established by Alfred, p 83. Reduced to ashes, p 116

- Paire*, Aimery de, Governor of Calais, 1348  
*Pandolf*, the Pope's Legate, induces John to submit to the Pope, 1213. Excommunicates the Earl of Albemarle, 1219  
*Parr*, Catherine, marries Henry VIII. 1543—and survives him  
*Parry*, Dr. William, executed for High Treason, 1585  
*Paschall I.* Pope, 1108  
*Pavia*, Battle of, 1525  
*Paulinus*. Vide *Suetonius*  
*Paulinus*, Bishop, p 43  
*Peers*, created by Patent, in the reign of Richard II. Lord Beauchamp the first  
*Pelagius*, Hieresarch, p 35  
*Pembroke*, Earl of, chosen Guardian to Henry VIII. 1217. Concludes a peace with Lewis, 1218  
*Pembroke*, Earl of, defeated and killed, 1468  
*Pendergrast*, Maurice de, assists Dermot, 1172  
*Pepin*, le Bref, King of France, p 64  
*Percy*, Earl, his death, 1408  
*Peter Pence* established, p 46  
*Peter*, the Hermit, 1094  
*Philip I.* King of France, 1085  
*Philip II.* King of France, fomenta a quarrel between Henry II. and his Children, 1173 to 1188. Joins Richard in the Crusade, 1190. Leaves him there, 1191. Excites Prince John against him, 1192. Invades Normandy, and defeated at Ronen, 1193. Sides with Arthur against King John, 1199. Makes Peace, 1200. Passes sentence of Felony upon King John, 1203. Takes Chateau Gaillard and the whole of Normandy, 1205. Prepares to invade England, 1212. His Fleet destroyed, 1213. Defeats the Emperor Otho, 1214. Assists the Confederate Barons, 1216  
*Philip III.* King of France, cites King Edward before him, 1293. Takes possession of Guyenne, 1294. Invades England, 1294. Makes Peace with Edward, and restores Guyenne to England, 1298  
*Philip V.* King of France, banishes Robert of Artois, 1337. Defeated at Cressy, 1346  
*Philip*, King of Spain, contracted to Mary of England, 1554. Arrives in England, and is married, 1554. Leaves England in disgust with his Queen, 1555. Returns, 1557. Seeks Elizabeth in marriage, 1558. Fits out his Armada, 1587  
*Philippa*, Wife of Edward III. defeats the Scots, 1347. Saves the six Burgesses of Calais, 1347  
*Pierce*, Alice, 1375  
*Pierre*, Eustace de St. his gallant behaviour, 1347  
*Placentia*, Council of, 1094  
*Plague*, introduced from France into England, 1563, 1593  
*Plautius Aulus*, Roman General, p 15  
*Pole*, Cardinal Reginald, fomenta an insurrection in England,

- which fails, 1538. Comes over, and absolves the English Nation, 1554. Made Archbishop of Canterbury, 1550
- Potatoes* introduced from Santa Fé, by Captain Hawkins, 1565
- Prasatagus*, King of the Iceni, p 16
- Proof*, Account of, p 119, 120
- Protestants*, cruel Massacre of, in France, 1572
- Quintin*, St. Battle of, 1557
- Raleigh*, Sir Walter, confined in the Tower, 1604. Goes to Guiana, 1616. Executed, 1617
- Reginald*, Sub-Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, chosen Archbishop, but set aside, 1207
- Regent*, the, a Ship burnt in an engagement, 1512
- Rideaumont*, Eustace de, gallant conduct of, 1348
- Richard*, Duke of Normandy, p 96, 98
- Richard*, second Son of Henry II joins his Brothers in a Revolt against his Father, 1173. Is reconciled, 1175. Quarrels with his Brothers, 1181. Revolts again from his Father, 1182. Quarrels with Geoffrey, 1184. Forms a secret Alliance with Philip of France against his Father, 1187. Succeeds to the Throne of England, 1189. His Answer to Fulk, 1189. Sets out to the Holy Land, 1189. Marries Berengaria, 1191. Takes Acre, 1191. Ascalon, 1192. Concludes a Truce with Saladin, and returns, 1192. Imprisoned, 1192. Ransomed, 1193. Returns to London, and crowned again, 1194. Pardons his Brother, 1195. Message of the Pope, 1198. Wounded, 1199. His Character
- Richard*, Prince, Brother of Edward III. Contest of, with his Brother, 1227. Refuses the Gift of the Crown of Sicily, 1255. Chosen King of the Romans, 1257. Taken prisoner by Leicester, 1264
- Richard II.* His intrepidity, 1384. Invades Scotland and returns, 1385. Deprived of sovereign power by the Barons, 1386. Resumes it, 1389. Banishes the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, 1398. Seizes the Estates of the Duke of Lancaster, 1399. Embarks for Ireland, and returns to meet the Duke of Lancaster, by whom his Kingdom is invaded, 1399. Flies to the Isle of Anglesea—made prisoner, and carried to London—deposed—carried prisoner to Pomfret Castle—and murdered, September, 1399
- Richard*, Duke of York, marries the Daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, 1449. Retires into Wales, 1451. Appointed Protector, 1454. Killed, 1460
- Richmond*, Henry Earl of, lands at Milford Haven, 1483. Kills Richard III. 1483. See *Henry VII.*
- Ridley*, Bishop of London and Westminster, 1550. Burnt, 1555
- Rivers*, Earl of, executed, 1468
- Rivers*, Earl of, (his Son) and others, beheaded, 1483
- Rizzio*, David, assassinated, 1566

- Robert*, Duke of Normandy, p 110. Puts William under the protection of Henry I. of France, p 111
- Robert*, Duke of Normandy, mortgages his Dukedom, and sets out for the Holy Land, 1097. Returns and lands at Portsmouth, 1100. Taken prisoner, 1106
- Robert*, Earl of Gloucester, attends Matilda to England, 1140. Defeats Stephen, 1147
- Robert III.* King of Scotland, 1411
- Roches*, Peter des, Bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, chosen Protectors of England, 1218. Resign their Offices, 1222. De Burgh disgraced, 1228. Des Roches banished, 1235
- Rodulph*, 1067
- Rome*, City of, pillaged, 1527
- Romney*, inhabitants of, severely punished, 1066
- Rosamond*, the Fair, (Clifford) murdered, 1172
- Runnymede*, Magna Charta signed at, 1215
- Rutland*, Earl of, murdered by Lord Clifford, 1460
- Saladin*, overcomes the Christian forces at Tiberiade and takes Jerusalem, 1187. Is defeated at Acre, 1191. Ascalon, 1192. Concludes a Truce with Richard I. near Jerusalem, 1192
- Sakisbury*, Earl of, killed at Orleans, 1426
- Sakisbury*, Earl of, retires into Yorkshire, 1458. Beheaded, 1460
- Salustius Lucullus*, Governor of Britain, p 21
- Savage*, Plot of, against Elizabeth, 1586
- Savigny*, Conference at, between Henry II. and the Legates
- Sausré*, William, burnt as a Heretic, 1401
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- Scots and Picts*, p 23, 47, &c. United under Kenneth, p 70
- Scrope*, Lord, Executed, 1416
- Segrave*, John de, Guardian of Scotland, 1303
- Services* performed by the Vassals of the Crown, p 166
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- Seymour*, Jane, married to Henry VIII. 1536. Brought to bed of Prince Edward, 1537
- Seymour*, Brother of the Duke of Somerset, tried and executed, 1549
- Shore*, Jane, Mistress to Edward IV. 1473
- Shrewsbury*, Earl of, killed in battle, 1451
- Simmel* personates the Son of the Duke of Clarence, 1486. Acknowledged King at Dublin, 1486. Taken prisoner, 1486
- Sitbrie*, Governor of Northumberland, p 86
- Somerset*, Duke of, surrenders to Charles VII. 1449. Killed by Richard Duke of York, 1455
- Somerset*, Duke of, Protector of England, 1547. Invades Scotland, 1547. Sent to the Tower, and released, 1549. Arrested and tried, 1551. Executed, 1552
- Somerville* kills himself, 1585

- Spurs*, Battle of, 1513  
*Stace*, John, executed as a Wizard, 1478  
*Stafford*, Insurrection of, 1486. Sir Humphrey, beheaded, 1586  
*Stafford*, Duke of Buckingham, tried and executed, 1521  
*Stanley*, Sir William, put to death, 1494  
*Star Chamber*, instituted, or rather re-established, 1487  
*Stephen*, King, crowned, 1135. Married the Daughter of Eustace, 1135. Taken prisoner by Matilda, 1140. Takes Oxford, and is defeated by Robert of Gloucester, 1147. Replaced on the Throne, 1147. Makes a Treaty with Prince Henry, 1153  
*Stigand*, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1066  
*Stilicho*, the Saviour of Italy, p 39  
*Strongbow*, Richard, Earl of Strigul-lands, in Ireland, 1172. Marries Eva, daughter of Dermot, and created Seneschal of Ireland, 1172  
*Stuart*, Robert, King of Scotland, invades England, 1385  
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*Suffolk*, Duke of, committed to the Tower, 1506  
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*Sussex*, Earl of, quells two Insurrections, 1569. Invades Scotland, 1570  
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*Throgmorton*, sent Ambassador to Scotland, 1567  
*Tonstal*, Bishop of Durham, deprived of his Bishopric, and restored again, 1553  
*Tosti*, Brother of Harold, expelled from his Government of Northumberland, p 109. Makes a descent on the Isle of Wight, p 110. Killed, p 110  
*Tresellan*, Sir Robert, executed, 1388  
*Tudor*, Sir Owen, beheaded by order of Edward IV. 1461  
*Turkall*, Earl of, East Anglia, p 100  
*Tyler*, Wat, heads a rebellion against Richard II. 1383. Killed, 1384  
*Tyrrell*, Walter, kills William Rufus, 1100.  
  
*Valence*, de, defeats Bruce, and is defeated by him, 1307  
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- Vere*, Robert de, Earl of Oxford, favorite of Richard II. made Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, 1385. Defeated and flies to the Low Countries, 1388
- Videmar*, Viscount of Limoges, 1199
- Villiers*, George, created Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Buckingham, 1616
- Viscounts*, title of, first introduced 1440
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- Urban II.* Pope, 1094
- Urban III.* Pope, died 1187
- Wallace*, William, defeats Warrenne, 1300. Resigns command of the Scotch Army, 1301. Executed as a Traitor, 1305
- Walsingham* discovers Babington's plot, 1586
- Walsboff*, Earl of, 1078
- Wakworth*, Mayor of London, kills Wat Tyler in Smithfield, 1384
- Warbeck*, Perkin, assumes the Title of Richard Duke of York, 1492. Attempts a landing in England, 1494. Lands in Ireland and Scotland, 1495. Publishes a Manifesto, 1496. Leaves Scotland and returns to Ireland, 1497. Lands in Cornwall, 1498. Besieges Exeter. 1498 Flies to Bewdley Abbey, 1498. Imprisoned—escapes, and flies to Sheen Abbey, but is brought back, 1498. Hanged at Tyburn, 1499
- Warham*, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1509. Resigns, 1516
- Warrenne*, Earl of, 1295. Takes Dunbar for Edward I.—Appointed Governor of Scotland, 1296. Retires to England, 1298. Defeated by Wallace, 1300
- Watches* introduced into England, 1577
- Warwick*, Earl of, retires to Calais, 1458. Invades England and retires again, 1459. Invades England, 1460. Flies to Calais, 1470. Lands again at Dartmouth and releases King Henry from the Tower, 1470. Proclaims him King, 1470. Killed in Battle, 1471
- Warwick*, Earl of, imprisoned, 1485. Exhibited to the public, 1487. Beheaded, 1499
- Warwick*, made Protector, 1549. Made Duke of Northumberland, 1557
- Weat*, Sir Thomas, makes an insurrection—is defeated and executed, 1554. Vide *Northumberland*
- Wentworth*, Peter, his behaviour towards Queen Elizabeth, 1576. Sent to the Tower, 1592
- Wickliffe*, his doctrine, 1385

- William*, of Normandy, appointed King by Edward the Confessor, p 108, 111. Sends an Embassy to Harold, p 111. Lands in England p 112. Gains the battle of Hastings, 113. Crowned, A. D. 1066. Returns to Norway, 1067. His severity to the people of Exeter, 1067. Conspiracy against him, 1073. Dissensions among his family, 1076. Nearly killed by his son Robert, 1080. His income, 1081. Character of, 1087. Grants of, p 166
- William Rufus*, 1087. Invades Normandy, 1090. Killed in hunting, 1100
- William*, Prince, son of Robert Duke of Normandy, committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, 1100. Carried to the court of Fulk, Count of Anjou, 1110. Marries the daughter of Fulk—killed, 1132
- William*, son of Henry I. carried over to Normandy to receive the homage of the Barons—drowned on his return, 1120
- Winchester*, Cardinal of, 1448
- Windsor Castle* built by Edward III. p 355
- Wittenagemots*, p 58, 59
- Wolfbere*, p 70
- Wolsey*, Thomas, made King's Almoner and Prime Minister, 1510. Attends the King to France, 1513. Made Bishop of Tournay and Lincoln, 1513. Archbishop of York, 1514. Attends Henry again to France, 1520. Makes a treaty between France and Germany, and a private one with Germany against France, 1521. Enters the House of Commons, 1523. Builds two colleges, 1523. Gives Hampton Court to Henry VIII. and builds Whitehall, 1525. An indictment presented against him and dismissed from the Chancellorship, 1529. Outlawed, 1529. Falls sick, 1529. Recovers, 1530. Arrested for high Treason, 1530. His Character
- Worcester*, Earl of, taken prisoner and beheaded at Worcester, 1404
- Wriotbesley*, Chancellor, deprived of his office, 1547
- Yeomen* of the Guard, instituted 1485
- York*, Archbishop of, enters into a Conspiracy against Henry IV. taken prisoner and beheaded, 1405
- York*, Duke of, killed at the battle of Agincourt, 1416
- York*, Duke of, son of Earl Cambridge, appointed successor to Bedford as Regent of France, 1439. Loses it soon after—appointed Protector in England, 1454. Takes Henry VI. prisoner at St. Albans, 1455. Killed, 1460
- York*, Archbishop of, imprisoned, 1483



